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THESIS

THE MUTED VOICE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ANGOLA

by

Jeffrey A. Drewiske

December 2016

Thesis Advisor: Rachel Sigman
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THE MUTED VOICE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ANGOLA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCM	Christian Council of Mozambique
CEAST	Episcopal Conference for Angola and Sao Tome
CELAM	Latin American Bishops Conference
CNBB	National Conference of Bishops
COIEPA	Inter-Ecclesiastical Committee for Peace in Angola
FNLA	National Liberation Front of Angola
FRELIMO	Mozambican Liberation Front
GURN	Government of National Unity and Reconciliation
IMBISA	Inter-Regional Meeting of the Bishops of Southern Africa
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
OAU	Organization of African Unity
RENAMO	National Resistance Movement
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

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I. INTRODUCTION

On September 25, 2015, Pope Francis addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations by reminding them that "the work of the United Nations, according to the principles set forth in the Preamble and the first Articles of its founding Charter, can be seen as the development and promotion of the rule of law, based on the realization that justice is an essential condition for achieving the ideal of universal fraternity."[1] In doing so, he tied the mission of the UN, a current western institution, to the Catholic Church, one of the oldest existing western institutions. This mission, which the Church has championed since the Second Vatican Council, promotes political and economic rights for marginalized societies since the 1960s

The Catholic Church has been a significant international influence since the time of the Roman Empire. By 1500, during the height of papal influence in Europe, Portugal began expansion overseas. In doing so, the Portuguese Empire brought the influence of the Church with them. Since the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) in the 1960s, the Church has become more focused on social issues, such as poverty eradication and human rights advocacy, rather than exclusively concentrating on conversion and patronage.[2] Although we would expect this focus to result in a broadening of social rights and freedoms, the Church's influence in Angola has been limited compared to Brazil and Mozambique. This stark contrast leads one to ask why the Church's influence in the realm of social rights has varied across former Portuguese colonies. Put another way, what explains the variation of the impact of Catholic social teaching in these countries? This thesis analyzes what forces propel and counteract the Church's influence by comparing Angola to Mozambique and Brazil and investigates the processes through which the Church's influence has been more or less powerful.

[1]Pope Francis, "Address of the Holy Father in Meeting with the Member of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization" (New York, September 25, 2015), http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html.

[2]John Frederick Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 227–229.

A. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Investigating the variation of the influence of Catholic Church will contribute to the general body of knowledge in three areas. First, it is an example of the impact of international non-state actors. Historically, the study of international relations has been focused on the state as the unit of analysis.[3] However, other actors have become more common. The rise of non-state actors should not be misconstrued as a decline of sovereignty in states,[4] but rather as a function of competing interests between societies and states. Within this political space, the Catholic Church, along with other religions, acts to influence societies throughout the world. Moreover, other actors can fill this political space, such as military organizations which are either unaffiliated or only loosely governed by state institutions. The influence of non-state actors on society may spread through military indoctrination just as easily as through religious evangelization.

Second, this study will shed light on how and why societies institutionalize religious values. Due to advancing technology, geography is no longer as strong a constraint to religious leaders as it was the colonial era. Just as colonialism expanded the Church, so has globalization. As the global economy penetrates foreign markets, it exposes the western world to social injustices in developing nations. The Church's relatively recent focus on rights and freedoms and its long missionary history suggest that it is an institution well equipped to address the needs of the poor and oppressed in the developing world. The structure that the Catholic Church, or any other religion, adopts to engage societies affects its relationship with the state, serving as a political and cultural force that can shape the development of democratic governance and social rights.

Third, the Catholic Church is one of many institutions that influence states and peoples from a normative perspective. The Catholic Church does not hold a monopoly on religion in Africa and competes with Evangelical Christians, various interpretations of Islam, and other religions in some ways. Where these religions intersect, the values they espouse may not only conflict with the state, but also with each other. As societies

[3]Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs 72*, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 24, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/60328547?accountid=12702.

[4]Ibid., 48.

confront social issues such as polygamy, violent extremism, and discrimination along the line of race, religion, and sexual orientation, the social values expressed by different religions may fuel grievances and cause increased tensions. The state, as the guarantor of security within its borders, may act to extinguish any violence between groups out of concern for security rather than simply as resistance to influence.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

After the fall of the Portuguese empire, the variation in the Catholic legacy in its former colonies is substantial in many ways. This thesis examines this legacy with respect to differences in economic freedoms and social rights observed in former Portuguese colonies. In the 1960s, just as Africa was emerging from European control, the Catholic Church was redefining its stance on social rights and freedoms in the Second Vatican Council. Specifically, the Church began to identify property rights, labor freedom, and poverty alleviation as goals rather than just evangelization.[5] Focusing on Angola, and comparing its level of individual rights and freedoms as measures of social influence to Mozambique and Brazil, this thesis evaluates how the Catholic Church attempted to embed itself within different societies and how states mediate the relationship between the Church and society. To understand how Catholic values regarding social rights permeate societies, I describe the relevant social teachings of the Church, then identify what characteristics a country would have if these traits were realized, as well as the processes used to diffuse Catholic norms through societies. Once the specific values of social rights are delineated, I present two potentially compatible models of value diffusion between transnational organization and societies. Finally, in order to challenge existing ideas of cultural diffusion, I discuss the way that state actions may preempt international influence on society.

[5]Jodok Troy, "'Catholic Waves' of Democratization? Roman Catholicism and its Potential for Democratization," *Democratization 16*, no. 6 (12, 2009): 1094, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510340903271753.

1. Catholic Social Teaching

The Catholic Church began its focus on social rights and freedoms in 1891 when Pope Leo XIII wrote *Rerum Novarum*.[6] His focus was the dehumanizing threat of spreading communism.[7] Specifically noting the issues of labor freedom and property rights, Leo XIII laid the groundwork for future popes to actively engage with social issues.[8] While other pontiffs continued this tradition, it was not until Vatican II that social advocacy became the doctrine of the Church.[9]

Pope John XXIII convened Vatican II, which lasted from 1962 through 1965, in order to reevaluate several church practices.[10] Within the changes of reform, the Catholic Church produced several documents detailing the call for greater engagement.[11] *Gaudium et Spes* (1965) directed "increased ecumenical dialogue and promotion of human rights and social justice."[12] *Dignitatis Humanae* (1965) promoted religious liberty and "accepted that salvation could occur outside the Catholic Church."[13] *Ad Gentes* (1965) "emphasized a greater appreciation of other cultures and solidarity with the local people."[14] In 1964, the church published *Lumen Gentium*, which identified laypersons rather than ordained ministers as the fundamental body of the Church.[15] These four documents deconstruct the previous paradigm of the Church as a necessary intermediary between God and man. They each underscore the value of individuals, other religions, and nonreligious organizations as important in bringing dignity to each person.

6Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum* (Rome: May 15, 1891), 1, http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum.html.

7Ibid., 4.

8Ibid., 9, 13, 38, 45, 49.

9Troy, "'Catholic Waves,'" 1094.

10Ibid., 1096.

11Barbra Mann Wall, *Into Africa: A Transnational History of Catholic Medical Missions and Social Change* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 18.

12Ibid.

13Ibid.

14Ibid., 19.

15Ibid., 19–20.

In *Populorum Progressio* (1967), Pope Paul VI "advocated for all people to have an increased standard of living," while also calling for development in the postcolonial world.[16] He defines social justice as "complete humanism," and focuses on poverty reduction, noting that "development cannot be limited to merely economic growth."[17] *Africae Terraru* (1967), while not a specific product of Vatican II, continued the theme of social engagement with the people of Africa. In this document, Paul VI likened global Christian virtues to traditional African values and called for increased education and food production to meet the needs of African peoples.[18] Continuing the advancement of the Catholic Church's social agenda, Paul VI became the first pope to visit Africa, doing so in 1969.[19] Meeting with bishops from across the continent the pope reiterated the message that the Church needed to embed itself among the people and culture of the locals.[20] One of the most drastic reforms of the Church that enabled this embeddedness was the switch the language of worship from Latin to vernacular languages prescribed during Vatican II.[21] By the end of the 1960s, the Catholic Church, which had previously thought of itself as the exclusive savior of souls, had rebranded itself as a socially based service committed to social justice and human dignity. The social teaching that the Church sought to promote included the ability of each individual to achieve not only salvation, but also economic freedom and a reduction of poverty through fair property rights and labor freedom.

Despite the reorientation of the Catholic Church during Vatican II, central authorities within the Catholic Church did not entirely align with the perception of many within the developing world. Liberation Theology, formed by the Latin American Bishops' Conference at the Council of Medellin in 1968, advocated political and economic freedoms, a "preferential option for the poor," and reduced dependency on the

16Wall, *Into Africa*, 20; Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, (Rome, March 26, 1967), 61, http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum.html.

17Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio,* 14, 42.

18Wall, *Into Africa*, 20.

19Ibid., 21.

20Ibid., 21.

21Ibid., 22.

industrialized world, but has increasingly been viewed as a radicalized, Marxist-leaning form of Christianity.[22] These concepts spoke directly to the developing world as it was marginalized by economic dependence and weak governance stemming from the colonial era.[23]

The Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith, led by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, issued a denunciation of many aspects of Liberation Theology on behalf of the Church in 1984.[24] Despite its rejection of Liberation Theology, the Church continues to proceed with a mission of social justice to the present day. With the social mission intact, one would expect the Catholic Church to have a positive influence on personal freedoms, human rights, education, and poverty eradication throughout Africa and the developing world. It then follows that countries with a large Catholic following should demonstrate strong property rights, have a high degree of labor freedom, contain low levels of poverty, or have adopted policies to correct these issues in accordance with the Church's mission.

One potential connection between the Catholic Church's focus on social justice and states in the developing world has received significant scholarly attention: democratization. Samuel Huntington describes the "Third Wave" of democratization as heavily influenced by reforms in the Catholic Church.[25] Noting that other social, political, and economic factors bolstered the number of Catholic countries that democratized in the 1970s and 1980s, he credits Vatican II reforms for aligning the Church with the poor rather than the powerful.[26] Jodok Troy echoes the theory that personal freedoms and public debate are supported by Catholic social doctrine, which therefore augments the self-determination that democracy provides.[27] Accordingly,

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[22]Schwaller, *Church in Latin America*, 246, 249, 259, 262.

[23]Ibid., 246–251.

[24]Ibid., 261.

[25]Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 75–76.

[26]Ibid., 76–78.

[27]Troy, "'Catholic Waves,'" 1105–1106.

Vatican II reforms and subsequent Church influence could have plausibly contributed to a rise in democratization.

2. Transnational Advocacy and the Catholic Church

To evaluate the role of the Catholic Church as an instrument of social justice, the Church can be viewed as a transnational advocacy group. The prevailing literature on the influence of transnational advocacy groups suggests that international influence on a society follows the "boomerang pattern."[28] In the boomerang pattern, transnational advocacy groups support oppressed or subjugated societies and pressure the oppressive state to provide freedoms or resources that have been withheld from society.[29] Through the provision of direct support and international pressure on an oppressive state, the Church as a transnational actor can "make resources available to actors in domestic and social struggles" in order to provide relief and "promote target actors to adopt new policies."[30] The Church, through its mission of social justice, seeks to restore the basic rights and freedoms of these societies by targeting the state to change its policies.

Obviously, this model of righting a perceived wrong implies that society is a victim subject to the power of the state. One fundamental component of the boomerang pattern is that the state, the supposed guardian of rights and freedoms, is the entity that violates the rights.[31] Because the state is both the perpetrator of oppression and the arbitrator of the laws within its border, society has little recourse within the domestic paradigm.[32] Implicit in the nature of a transnational advocacy group is that it is motivated by ideological values rather than self-interest.[33] For the Church, this assertion appears self-evident as, since Vatican II, the Church has promoted a doctrine of social rights and economic freedoms. Intuitively, the structure of the Church also lends itself to

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[28]Margaret E. Keck, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 13, 14.

[29]Ibid., 12–13.

[30]Ibid., 1, 3, 25.

[31]Ibid., 12.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid., 1–2, 8–9.

international influence, led by the pope, and connections to society, through local priests, nuns, and missionaries.

If the state is an obstacle to the rights of society in the boomerang pattern, democratic governance, or self-determination, should provide a check on the power of the state. While democratization is not synonymous with social justice, a state responsible to its citizens through elections has more incentive than an authoritarian regime to respect the rights of society. Addressing this point, Huntington quotes Pope John Paul II (1987): "I am not the evangelizer of democracy; I am the evangelizer of the Gospel. To the Gospel message, of course, belong all the problems of human rights; and if democracy means human rights, it also belongs to the message of the Church."[34] Therefore, as the boomerang pattern describes, the Church both supplied support directly to society, and put international pressure on states to liberalize.

While the reforms adopted by the Catholic Church appear to be a contributing factor to the democratization of many states in the late twentieth century, the evidence is inconclusive. Other analysts have suggested that while the Vatican II reforms correlate to democratization, they are not causal. Rachel Riedl claims that "increasing religious pluralism as a result of political liberalization creates new opportunities for religious mobilization."[35] Michael Minkov and Geert Hofstede note that societal values align more closely with national identity that religious influence, suggesting that civil society is likely to be less swayed by a transnational advocacy group such as the Catholic Church.[36] These findings appear to dismiss the agency of the Church as a transnational actor and possibly reverse the cause and effect of the "Third Wave." While the Church has embraced democracy as a possible avenue for the advancement of rights and freedoms,

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[34]Huntington, *Third Wave*, 84.

[35]Rachel Beatty Riedl, "Transforming Politics, Dynamic Religion: Religion's Political Impact in Contemporary Africa," *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review 2*, no. 2 (2012): 48, https://muse.jhu.edu.libproxy.nps.edu/results?startYear=&stopYear=&terms=content:Transforming%20Politics%2C%20Dynamic%20Religion:AND&m=1&limits=subscription:Y&limits=format:journal&limits=doctype:article&items_per_page=10.

[36]Michael Minkov and Geert Hofstede, "Nations Versus Religions: Which Has a Stronger Effect on Societal Values?" *Management International* Review 54, no. 6 (12, 2014): 813, 821, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11575-014-0205-8.

democratization in this context may be described as an amoral process that limits state power within the boomerang pattern rather than advancing Church influence on society.

3. State Sovereignty and Resistance

One gap in the boomerang pattern is that it does not account for variation in the influence of transnational advocacy networks in different countries. Despite the influence of the Catholic Church and other organizations to achieve social rights, these freedoms have not spread evenly throughout the developing world. While some of this variation may be due to countervailing cultural currents, such as the spread of Islam with a distinct moral code, predominantly Catholic countries lack a uniform adoption of personal freedoms that defies a simple explanation. Therefore, actions and reactions of the state, with respect to the pressure from transnational advocacy groups and civil society, must be explored in order to evaluate what impact a government has on the spread on the Church's social influence. Additionally, the variation of the Church's representation and structure in different countries requires further investigation to determine how the Church is embedded within each society.

While Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink see the national governments as the "targets" of transnational advocacy networks, there is also reason to believe that states act as "gatekeepers" mediating the interactions between international and domestic actors.[37] Specifically, the governments of states in the developing world can manipulate or limit the flow of tangible and intangible goods to civil society in order to maintain their hold of sovereignty and power.[38] The potential gatekeeper role of states is especially relevant to sub-Saharan Africa, where control of resources is integral to neopatrimonial regimes.[39] In a clientelistic state, the gatekeeper's resistance to international influence can compound repression and poverty created by a lack of public goods to society.

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[37]Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 3; Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, *Democratic Reform in Africa (Boulder*, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2004), 109.

[38]Gyimah-Boadi, *Democratic Reform*, 109.

[39]Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, "Personal Rule: Theory and Practice in Africa," *Comparative Politics 16*, no. 4 (July 1, 1984): 422–425, 430–431, 433, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/60975840?accountid=12702.

African states were carved out in an environment in which sovereignty was favored over functionality. Between these states, "the general apprehension of externally promoted interference and subversion have disposed African governments to collaborate in maintaining their jurisdictions."[40] These "juridical states" were not formed out of a commonality between its citizens, but rather a mutual pact between states to avoid revolution.[41] Consequently, any transnational influence, whether religious or secular, that undermines the state leader is due to meet resistance. African states have demonstrated that "activities that overshadow the state tend to be viewed as a direct challenge."[42] Therefore, Church influence, like that of NGO's, may lead to hardening of positions rather than an opening of the political and social space.[43]

To protect their sovereignty, "governments have instituted control mechanisms" over NGOs.[44] Creating bureaucratic channels to harness influence, "African governments have come to view NGOs . . . warily as political challengers whose benevolence needs to be directed and coordinated not to undermine the state."[45] Rather than grant NGOs, or the Church, unfettered access to civil society, the typical African state has created roadblocks. State resistance may be motivated by greedy elites seeking to exploit resources or simply be a negative consequence of poor governance lacking bad intent.

In light of the strong potential for African states to act as gatekeepers within the boomerang pattern, this thesis examines why the Angolan government has become a particularly potent force in mediating the influence of the Catholic Church and the doctrine of social and economic freedoms. As described in the next section, this thesis will seek to understand the Catholic Church's muted influence on rights and freedoms in

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[40]Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood," *World Politics 35*, no. 1 (10, 1982): 18, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/61287144?accountid=12702.

[41]Jackson and Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist," 12.

[42]Stephen N. Ndegwa, *The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa* (West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1996), 21.

[43]Much of the literature defining the relationship between state and civil society is framed within the context of Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs). I consider the Catholic Church to sufficiently fit the description of an NGO.

[44]Ndegwa, *Civil Society*, 22, 23.

[45]Ibid., 22.

Angola by examining the government's impetus for acting as a strong gatekeeper as well as the influence of the Church's structure and mobilization of society.

C. HYPOTHESES AND ARGUMENT

To explain the influence of Catholic reforms resulting from Vatican II on the social rights and economic freedoms in Angola compared to Mozambique and Brazil, I consider the following hypotheses as possible causes for the variation between the countries. First, the Catholic Church was more thoroughly embedded in Brazilian society than in Angola and Mozambique, so it was a more effective advocacy group within the boomerang pattern. Second, the Catholic Church was used as an instrument of state control for the Portuguese colonial power in Africa more than in Brazil, so Angolan and Mozambican societies rejected the Church as a remnant of foreign domination. Third, elite competition for power was more intense and long lasting in Angola than other colonies, so Angolan state and rebel elites acted as more effective gatekeepers, preempting the spread of Vatican II reforms. Fourth, the Angolan state exploited mineral resources to create an oppressive regime, which was unresponsive to social needs or reform, resisting the attempts of the Catholic Church to advocate for society

I argue that these potential causes of limited Church influence are not mutually exclusive, but one factor contributed to the development and continuation of the others. First, the evidence available indicates that the Catholic Church was more deeply embedded in Brazil than Angola and Mozambique. However, this alone is not sufficient to explain why the Church has failed to successfully promote social rights in Angola. Second, the Church was used as a more significant instrument of colonial oppression in Angola and Mozambique than it was in Brazil. However, this did not lead to a permanent and outright rejection of the Church in these societies. Third, state and rebel elites did compete for power longer in Angola than other colonies. While elite competition did have a significant impact on society, the protracted civil war is not the root cause of the limited influence of the Church. Fourth, and most importantly, the Angolan state and rebels drew strength from the extraction of oil and diamonds, which were the most significant factors in the long duration of the intrastate conflict and the muted voice of the

Catholic Church in Angola. Greed on the part of the Portuguese colonists created a colonial structure that manipulated divisions between ethnic groups. Once these ethnic groups formed competing liberation movements, they turned their attention to resources rather than social rights. Fueled by extractive resources, state and rebel elites acted as gatekeepers that inhibited the influence of the Catholic Church and marginalized society. Therefore, state resistance to international influence, or gatekeeping, is the most significant cause of the extreme deprivation of social rights in Angola, because resource revenue enabled Angolan elite to sustain their gatekeeping efforts.

D. RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis uses a comparative case analysis of three former Portuguese colonies: Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil. Its main purpose is to examine Angola as an extreme case of the relationship of Catholic influence to social rights (low influence and low social rights). Comparisons with more typical cases, Mozambique and Brazil, offer contrasting contributing factors for the stated explanations for the Church's muted influence in Angola. Because it is impossible to control for all variables other than Catholic influence, it is important to note the basic similarities and differences between these states and how the differences potentially affect the relationship between the Church's teachings and spread of the associated social values.

Each of these countries is a large coastal state that was once a Portuguese colony. Each of these countries achieved independence later than most of its neighbors and each has a population that is at least one-quarter Catholic.[46] Angola is a country of nearly 24 million people, of which about 38 percent are Catholic.[47] More than 36 percent of Angolans live below the poverty line and many have been displaced by civil war that was eventually won by the state.[48]

[46]U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook, 2013–2014 (Washington, DC, 2013), Accessed March 17, 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/.

[47]Ibid.

[48]The World Bank, World Data Bank, accessed March 17, 2016, http://data.worldbank.org/.

Mozambique and Brazil vary significantly in location, population, and economies compared to Angola. Mozambique, like Angola, is a large, coastal African state. Twenty-seven million people reside in Mozambique and more than half of them are below the poverty line.[49] At the time of independence, and throughout their civil war, Mozambique had a largely undeveloped extractive sector, which contributed to their poverty.[50] Approximately one quarter of the population of Mozambique is Catholic.[51] Brazil is much larger in both area and population than Angola and Mozambique.[52] It has a lower poverty rate and higher percentage of Catholics than the two African states.[53] Brazil is endowed with plentiful natural resources and has expanded its extraction capacity in recent decades.[54] Since Mozambique and Brazil vary in different ways, they provide valuable perspective when compared to Angola with respect to social rights and economic freedoms.

This thesis examines historical accounts of the Catholic Church in the three countries, the processes through which the adoption of social rights have been considered and quantitative data from various sources in order to measure the social rights and freedoms in each of the three states. By examining Angola as an extreme case compared to more typical cases, such as Mozambique and Brazil, this thesis seeks to analyze the previously mentioned hypotheses and develop a fuller explanation of the Church's social impact since Vatican II.

E. THESIS OVERVIEW AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

This thesis is organized into four chapters shaped by the four hypotheses previously mentioned. The second chapter focuses on the structure of the Catholic

[49]The World Bank, World DataBank.

[50]Paul Jourdan, "The Minerals Industry of Mozambique, Institute of Mining Research (IMR) Open Report no. 117, Harare, (June 1990)" OpenDocs, accessed August 12, 2016, 5, https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/4647/Jordan,%20P.%20IMR%20Report%20117.pdf?sequence=1.

[51]U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook.

[52]Ibid.

[53]The World Bank, World Data Bank; U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook.

[54]Lyndon Thompson, "In Deep: Brazilian Oil" *OECD Observer* no. 297 (4, 2013): 33, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1503684461?accountid=12702.

Church as it is organized in Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil and therefore deals with the first two potential explanations, namely that the Church was more deeply embedded in Brazilian society than in African societies. For the Catholic Church to advocate successfully within the boomerang pattern, it must both establish solidarity with society and transcend state borders. Ultimately, this analysis should deepen the reader's understanding of the Church as a functional component in the boomerang pattern in former Portuguese colonies.

Chapter III explores the remaining two hypotheses. By investigating elite competition for power and state exploitation of resources, this chapter should frame the political and economic currents that counteract the spread of Vatican II reforms specifically, and more generally, social influence between cultures and civilizations. Rather than evaluating the connection between the Church and society, this chapter treats the state as an agentive actor in the boomerang pattern. Chapter III, consequently, relies heavily on the gatekeeper role of the state and its impact on society.

Chapter IV concludes the thesis by drawing lessons from the previous two chapters and comparing the explanations of variance in the adoption of Vatican II reforms regarding social rights and economic freedoms. The ultimate goal is to evaluate the influence of the Catholic Church and the countervailing state actions to the study of social norms in Africa and the developing world. Moreover, this thesis may identify other critical factors that, in the diffusion of social rights, can potentially, hinder, aid, or replicate the influence of Vatican II reforms.

II. CHURCH EMBEDDEDNESS IN SOCIETY

The influence of the Catholic Church is concentrated in some areas and diluted in others rather than being uniformly accepted across global societies. How a religion embeds itself in society is critical when evaluating the values it promotes. Therefore, the various means that the Catholic Church used to embed itself in Angolan, Mozambican, and Brazilian societies affects the extent to which these countries practice the social rights proclaimed by the Church after Vatican II. For the Church to act as a transnational advocate in the boomerang pattern, it must be accepted by society.

What factors would lead to society accepting a church as its own? According to Anna Grzymala-Busse, a society's willing acceptance of a church constitutes "moral authority," which is characterized by the "popular perception that the church represents the national interest."[55] Moral authority is enhanced by the "fusion of national and religious identities," but diminished when the church "cannot lay claim to the historical defense of the nation."[56] Consequently, the actions of the Catholic Church and perceptions of each society affect the level of moral authority it has. Moral authority can facilitate a church becoming embedded in a nation. Conversely, a lack of moral authority can hinder it. Therefore, the question becomes what has the Catholic Church done, or failed to do, in Brazil that makes it more representative of society than in Angola and Mozambique?

I argue that the Catholic Church has not been embedded in Angola as long or as deeply as it has in Brazil, and to a lesser extent, Mozambique. The Church had historically been used as a cornerstone of Portuguese colonial domination longer in Angola and Mozambique than in Brazil. Whereas Brazil achieved independence in 1822, Angola and Mozambique gained independence in the 1970s.[57] The Church has had a shorter timeframe in which to build moral authority since the end of Portuguese rule in

[55]Anna Gryzmala-Busse, "Weapons of the Meek," *World Politics 68*, no. 1 (1, 2016), 3, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0043887115000301.

[56]Ibid.

[57]U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook.

Angola and Mozambique. Whereas the Church has effectively made use of opportunities to cultivate moral authority and advocate for society in Mozambique, the Church has failed to capitalize on its attempts to represent society in Angola. To varying degrees the Church facilitated the Portuguese empire to act as a gatekeeper in different colonies, which subsequently hindered the Church's embeddedness in society within postcolonial states.

Conversely, throughout Brazil's colonial and sovereign history, the Church has been alternatively courted and shunned by the state, which has provided it opportunities to intercede on behalf of society. When courted by an oppressive regime, they have resisted coercion and when shunned, they have maintained continual advocacy of society. Similarly, Brazilian clergy, and Latin American bishops in general, have not always conformed to papal guidance, which amplifies moral authority through resistance to foreign domination. Therefore, the Catholic Church in Brazil adheres to the boomerang pattern, but does so selectively.

This chapter will trace the actions of the Church, first as a component of the Portuguese Empire, where it was closely intertwined with the state, and then in each of the former colonies. As the Church became embedded in Brazilian society after independence in the early nineteenth century, the Church built a strong foundation within society. Following the discussion of the Church in Brazil, Angola and Mozambique will be discussed as colonies of Portugal until the 1970s, and then as independent states. The comparison of these three countries illustrates that moral authority is built over time and requires effort on the part of the Church to become embedded in a culture if it was once seen as oppressive. Further, if a national identity has not been forged, the Church may not become embedded because there is a lack of unity among society, as in Angola.

A. THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE

As former Portuguese colonies, Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil share a significant bond of colonial heritage. Portugal, along with Spain, established papal recognition and patronage within their colonies around the year 1500.[58] The relationship

[58]Schwaller, *Church in Latin America*, 39–47.

between the Iberian empires and the Church predated the 1622 announcement of The Congregation for the Evangelization, also known as The Congregation for the Propagation of Faith.[59] The Congregation, set forth the following goals: the separation of missionary works from colonial politics; the exclusion of every form of interference by the temporal powers in missionary concerns; the sending out of well-qualified and trained missionaries; the formation of indigenous priests; the consecration of native bishops"; and "adaptation to the customs and practices of the peoples."[60] In summary, the Catholic Church published this doctrine in order to remove the state as an intermediary between the Church and future colonial subjects.

Patronage in Spain and Portugal had the opposite effect of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith: the Church not only allowed the state to interfere, but also it depended on the state to fund and support missions.[61] While patronage decreased the financial and logistical burden on the Church, it compromised the independence of the Church. The reliance of the Church on the state inherently favored the colonial empire over the colonized subjects. Therefore, while moral authority of the Church may have been high among the colonizers, with whom it was embedded, it was distinctly lower among the colonized.

1. Brazil

Brazil did not sign a concordat upon achieving independence in 1822. However, the Holy See recognized the new state in 1823, within one year of its independence.[62] The constitution of 1824 recognized the freedom of religion, but also held Catholicism as

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[59]Luís Benjamim Serapião, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Principle of Self-Determination: A Case Study of Mozambique," *A Journal of Church and State 23*, no. 2 (1981): 327, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1301717442?accountid=12702; Joseph Metzler, "The Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or the Propagation of the Faith: The Mission Center of the Catholic Church in Rome," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research 5*, no. 3 (July 1981): 127, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1299975942?accountid=12702.

[60]Metzler, "The Sacred Congregation," 127.

[61]Ibid.,. 128.

[62]Schwaller, *Church in Latin America*, 129.

the state religion.[63] Patronage continued under the first Brazilian emperor, Dom Pedro I, where the state collected a tithe and paid the clergy.[64] Perhaps the only reason a concordat was not reached was that when the pope agreed to the conditions Brazil had placed on the Church in 1827, Dom Pedro I refused to sign a treaty, claiming that the Church's position was constitutionally granted and not subject to papal approval.[65] Despite lacking a concordat, Brazil did have a governing document for their agreement with the Church.

In 1889, the emperor of Brazil was overthrown and a republican government came to power. The bishops of Brazil had increasingly distanced themselves from the unpopular emperor, thereby gaining credibility with society, but did not align with the new secular government. Consequently, they became gradually more united to the pope than the state. The result of the change of power in Brazil was a durable Church that was increasingly embedded in society and simultaneously more united with Rome.[66]

The Brazilian bishops continually sought engagement with the pope. In 1894, Leo XIII wrote *Litteras A Vobis*, responding to their request for a larger episcopal hierarchy to better serve their population across the large country.[67] In addition to increasing the number of bishops in Brazil, Leo XIII also counseled them to ensure religious education for children and keep missionaries and religious orders "subject to the authority of the bishops" rather than pursue independent objectives.[68] Since the end of the imperial government in Brazil, the Church hierarchy has been collectively active engaged with the Vatican and active in domestic affairs despite being distanced from the government.

Getulio Vargas rose to political power through a military coup in 1934 and rekindled the bond between Church and state: while he did not sanction a state religion,

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[63]Schwaller, Church in Latin America, 158.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid., 168–169, 205.

[67]Pope Leo XIII, *Litteras A Vobis*, (Rome, July 2, 1894), 1, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/l13brz.htm.

[68]Ibid., 4, 5.

he did distinguish the "God of the people."[69] This recognition solidified the place of the Church in the state, affording the Church influence in society. Soon after Vargas was removed from the government in the 1950s, the bishops formally organized into the National Conference of Bishops (CNBB) and sparked the formation of a regional ecclesial body, the Latin American Bishops Conference (CELAM).[70] A new military government took control of Brazil in 1964 and embraced the Church as a potential ally in resistance to the spread of communism.[71] However, the junta used oppressive tactics to manipulate society and, beginning in 1967, targeted progressive clergy.[72] Led by Bishop Helder Camara and Bishop Aloisio Lorscheider, the Church was one of the few voices that expressed opposition to the military state.[73] Throughout the middle of the twentieth century, the Brazilian Catholic Church was able to remain an impartial advocate for society despite oppressive state action. When Vatican II delivered its call for justice and social rights, the Brazilian clergy were well positioned to deliver this message to a receptive society.

The CNBB has remained influential and embedded in Brazil throughout the end of the twentieth century and into the new millennium. As of 1991, the Church had a higher level of public confidence than any other Brazilian institution.[74] Bolstered by its history of activism, the Catholic Church demonstrates high moral authority in Brazil. The bishops created a four-year plan in 1996 known as the *Way to the New Millennium*, focusing on human rights ranging from civil liberties and social causes to economic means.[75] As the twentieth century ended, the Catholic Church in Brazil retained its image as representative of society.

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[69]Schwaller, *Church in Latin America*, 206–207.

[70]Ibid., 224–226.

[71]Ibid., 234.

[72]Ibid., 235.

[73]Ibid., 234–235.

[74]Edward L. Cleary, "The Brazilian Catholic Church and Church-State Relations: Nation-Building" *Journal of Church and State 39* no. 2 (1997): 266. http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/59778902?accountid=12702: Cleary, "Brazilian Catholic Church," 266.

[75]Ibid., 262–263.

In 2011, Pope Benedict XVI welcomed Almir de Sa Barbuda as the Ambassador of Brazil to the Holy See. In his correspondence, the pope noted that the Church and Brazil have a long history dating back to 1500.[76] This relationship, he claims, strengthened by the new concordat in 2008, is focused on "free exercise of worship," education and social justice.[77] Clearly, these functions that the Catholic Church continues to pursue in Brazil have created a credible impression on society to an extent that it has not in Angola.

2. Portuguese Africa

Angola and Mozambique fell under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese concordat of 1886, described later that year by Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical *Pergata*.[78] In *Pergata,* Leo XIII calls for the continuation of patronage for the "prestige of the empire, and at the same time that the Christian interests of the Indians [colonial subjects] be provided for."[79] Ironically, the same pope, who would in 1891 call for social rights in *Rerum Novarum,* would extend the system of patronage despite the warning against the interference of secular power on missions declared by the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. Specifically noting the "great need for sacred missions in the interior of Africa,"[80] *Pergata* ends with a blessing and exhortation to continue the union between Portugal and the Catholic Church. For Portuguese colonies such as Angola and Mozambique, this indicated that the Church would continue patronage, which contributed to the Church being embedded with the metropole rather than colonial society.

After the turn of the century, papal communication with Portugal reflected a different sentiment. *Gravissimas* (1901) urged the Portuguese bishops to "strenuously

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[76]Pope Benedict XVI, "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to H.E. Mr. Almir Franco de Sá Barbuda, New Ambassador of Brazil to the Holy See," (Rome, October 31, 2011), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2011/october/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20111031_ambassador-brasile.html.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Pope Leo XIII, *Pergata*, (Rome, September 14, 1886), 7, 10, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/l13por.htm.

[79]Ibid., 1.

[80]Ibid., 5.

defend the cause of religion and civil society" against the state decrees.[81] Pope Pius X wrote *Iamdudum* (1911) in reaction to the separation of "Church and State" enacted by the new republican government of Portugal.[82] Citing the violation of the concordat, including the withdrawal of public assistance for the Church and missions, Pius rejected the new law claiming that its goal was to separate the Portuguese bishops not only from the state, but also from the papacy.[83] While the motive of the leaders of the new republic may have been to distance themselves from Rome in order to increase their influence and sovereignty in their territories, this arrangement would have made the Catholic Church in Portugal more similar to other the Church in other nations.

The separation of Church and state would not last in Portugal and its overseas possessions. Under Antonio de Oliveira Salazar's fascist government, Portugal would agree to missionary accord with the Church in 1940.[84] This agreement reestablished patronage and gave the Church control of missionary education; however, this education for indigenous children generally only amounted to between one and three years of school and was focused on getting children to "abandon idleness and prepare themselves to become future agricultural and factory workers."[85] Not only was this education little more than an apprenticeship to forced service, Portugal also opposed schools run by protestant missionaries.[86] Pope Pius XII released the encyclical *Saeculo Exeunte Octavo* in 1940 imploring Portuguese to continue "opening paths and laboring for the Church in the spacious lands of Africa."[87] Harkening back to the centuries of colonialism, this document anachronistically celebrates how the Portuguese "were able to dominate the

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81Pope Leo XIII, *Gravissimas*, (Rome, May 16, 1901), 2, 5, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/l13grvis.htm.

82Pope Pius X, *Iamdudum*, (Rome, May 24, 1911), 1–2, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius10/p10por.htm.

83Ibid., 19–10.

84Barry Munslow, *Mozambique: The Revolution and Its Origins* (New York: Longman, 1983), 63.

85Ibid; Anders Ehnmark, *Angola and Mozambique: The Case against Portugal* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1963), 142.

86Munslow, *The Revolution*, 67.

87Pope Pius XII, *Saeculo Exeunte Octavo*, (Rome, June 13, 1940), 8, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius12/P12SAECU.HTM.

shores of Africa" through "ardent and strong faith."[88] Most bishops in Portuguese Africa often did little to veil their allegiance to Portugal over their mission to Africans. The bishops of Portuguese colonies in Africa did not attend the All Africa Bishops Symposium in 1969 because of their loyalty to the empire rather than colony.[89] Analysis of the Catholic Church in colonial Angola and Mozambique prior to Vatican II reveals that the Church was compliant in Portuguese imperial subjugation of colonial societies. Due to the close ties between the Church and the Portuguese Empire, the Church could not objectively advocate for society in its colonies. This conflict of interests limited the Church's moral authority in Portuguese colonies and effectiveness within the boomerang model.

In the years leading to and after independence, individuals and organizations within the Catholic Church have attempted to restore its credibility in Angola and Mozambique just as they have in Brazil and elsewhere. However, the Church casts a large shadow in former Portuguese colonies and has failed to emerge from this shadow in Angola to the extent that it has in Brazil and Mozambique. The Church in Mozambique has developed some influence within society and among elites, which has contributed to increased rights and freedoms for society. In Angola, despite attempts to mitigate suffering caused by war and poor governance, the Church has failed to successfully advocate for the benefit of society.

3. Angola

In Angola, the Catholic Church cannot claim to have continuously backed society against foreign rule. One hindrance to the Church's association to the national identity is that there is not one distinct national identity. The territory that constitutes present day Angola is primarily occupied by three separate ethnic groups: the Ovimbundu, the

88Pope Pius XII, *Saeculo Exeunte Octavo*, 9.

89Luís Benjamim Serapião, "The Preaching of Portuguese Colonialism and the Protest of the White Fathers," *Issue* 2, no. 1 (Spring, 1972): 37, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1308901192?accountid=12702.

Mbundu, and the Bakongo.[90] The evangelization of the Catholic Church targeted none of these groups, favoring to focus on the Portuguese settlers.[91] However, missionaries from other denominations began to reach the areas neglected by the Catholics: Baptists penetrated the North, Methodists took root in urban and central areas, and Congregationalists reached the southern Ovimbundu areas.[92] The failure of the Catholic Church to proselytize to the entire country was a missed opportunity to form a national identity as well as to become embedded in it.

Compounding the disinterest of the Portuguese in fully including the native tribes in the faith, Portugal granted independence to the "Angolan people," in 1975 rather than a legitimately recognized government.[93] By failing to anoint a successor, the Portuguese permitted the ethnic groups to compete for power, increasing the incentive for each to claim authority. The Mbundu formed the base of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), while the Ovimbundu rallied to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the Bakongo largely entered the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA).[94] Consequently, the neglect of the indigenous population by the Portuguese Catholic community reinforced divisions rather than unity in Angola. The moral authority of the Church has struggled to overcome its colonial legacy in Angola because it does not resonate with a true national identity and the rifts left in a neglected society have remained salient.

The Catholic Church has grasped for social influence since Angola achieved independence. However, on a national level, the Church has had little success and when it did, it rarely did so alone. The goal of the Episcopal Conference for Angola and Sao

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[90]Roque, Paula Cristina, "Angola's Façade Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 20, no. 4 (2009): 138, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/195557388?accountid=12702; Gilbert M. Khadiagala, "Negotiating Angola's Independence Transition: The Alvor Accords," *International Negotiation 10*, no. 2 (2005): 296, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/38205532?accountid=12702; U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook.

[91]David Birmingham, *Empire in Africa: Angola and Its Neighbors* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006), 101.

[92]Ibid., 101–103.

[93]Khadiagala, "Negotiating Angola's Independence," 307.

[94]Ibid., 296; Roque "Angola's Façade Democracy," 138.

Tome (CEAST), which is the collection of Catholic bishops in the two countries, was to use democracy as a "path to peace and national reconciliation."[95] As early as 1975, a coalition of Catholic joined forces with one Methodist bishop to issue a statement promoting democracy as a solution to the competition between liberation movements rather than war.[96] This document proved to be an exception as the various Christian churches in Angola tended to operate separately rather than ecumenically prior to the 1990s. In fact, there was not another significant effort for joint church advocacy for peace until the creation of the Inter-Ecclesiastical Committee for Peace in Angola (COIEPA) at the turn of the century.[97] Even after the creation of COIEPA, collaborative action between Protestant and Catholic leaders was sporadic.

One reason that leaders of various churches failed to unite in common cause was that they traditionally had separate constituencies based on the missionary footprint of each different faith prior to independence. These divisions hardened into distinct ethnic bases which supported competing liberation movements, as previously mentioned. Consequently, Protestant churches found themselves aligned politically with factions fighting for a share of power, which compromised their objectivity in a negotiated settlement. The Catholic Church meanwhile had insufficient ties to these native ethnic groups based on the exclusiveness of their mission to the colonial Portuguese in Angola. Therefore, Protestant churches can be seen as embedded in the ethnic communities and entrenched in their competition for power while the Catholic Church was not sufficiently embedded within the ethnic communities that comprised Angolan society.[98]

Beginning in the late 1980s, the Catholic Church became more active in advocating for the unification of society in Angola as a means to peace rather than

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[95]Michael Comerford, "The Angolan Churches from the Bicesse to the Luena Peace Agreements (1991-2002): The Building of a Peace Agenda and the Road to Ecumenical Dialogue," *Journal of Religion in Africa 37*, no. 4 (2007): 496, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/157006607X230526.

[96]Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Position Paper 3: Civil Society," Angola: Drivers of Change, Chatham House (2005): 15, accessed August 12, 2016, http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/doc90.pdf; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 498.

[97]Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 15; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 513.

[98]Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 15; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 492–496.

continued conflict. The first significant attempt to do so was the failed Gbadolite Accords in 1989.[99] This was followed by the Bicesse Accords in May of 1991, which led to an internationally supported election in September of 1992.[100] CEAST actively sought to make the most of this opportunity, encouraging all parties to accept the result of upcoming election, as a victor or opposition party, and calling for inclusion at the peace table for all segments of society, as only the belligerents of the conflict were given a voice.[101] Prior to the election, CEAST also was outspoken of state and rebel media outlets that broadcast divisive, rather than conciliatory messages as well as the failure of both the MPLA and UNITA to disarm in accordance with the accords, and poor voter education and training.[102] Despite the return to war, CEAST continued to advocate for society as the victim of the war between the two factions, and calling the conflict a "systematic violation of the most sacred human rights."[103] Between the Gbadolite Accords, the Bicesse Accords, the failed election, and the return to war, the efforts of the Catholic Church clearly failed to achieve secure rights and freedoms for society.

Following the failed election in 1992, the Lusaka Protocol in November of 1994 constituted the next substantive attempt for peace in Angola.[104] Despite the 1997 establishment of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN), this measure also failed to bring lasting peace to Angola and rights to society.[105] A key development in church-state relations at this juncture was made by the Protestant churches in Angola as they began to distance themselves from political parties and instead advocate for society on issues rather than candidates.[106] Leading this campaign was Methodist Bishop Emilio de Carvalho, the same Methodist bishop who signed the

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99Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 494, 497.

100Ibid., 498.

101Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 14; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 499–500.

102Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 501–503.

103Ibid., 505, 510.

104Ibid., 508.

105Ibid.

106Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 14; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 510.

ecumenical request for democracy in 1975; he called attention to the growing hostility in the political arena and increasing distance between the churches and policy makers.[107] While the Protestant churches began to recognize that the war in Angola was a form of "fratricide," with factions of society destroying the others politically in times of peace and militarily in times of war, CEAST went a step farther: in 1996 CEAST called the war genocide.[108] This accusation of state and rebel elite favoring power over the welfare of society, along with the shift of Protestant church leaders to advocacy of society, marked a the beginning of a collaborative effort of Christian churches in Angola. By speaking out against the war, and adopting a common message, the Christian churches in Angola became recognized by society as "the most legitimate and organized network for peace" in the country.[109] While this can be read as the budding of moral authority in Angola, it is significant that the Catholic Church was not capable of this progress on its own and that the churches were not successful in delivering rights and freedoms to society through the end of the civil war.

As the Lusaka deal crumbled and war began to reemerge in Angola in 1998, the churches of Angola attempted to seek an end to violence, but failed to consistently reach a consensus and act in unison. In 1999, Catholic Cardinal Dom Alexandre do Nascimento issued a pastoral letter allowing seminary students to enlist in the military, only to reverse this position in an ensuing publication condemning the renewed war.[110] At roughly the same time, Protestant and Catholic leaders joined to form COIEPA to offer a united voice on behalf of society, but subsequently continued to operate independently within Angola.[111] Acting unilaterally, CEAST sponsored the Movement For Peace and hosted a peace conference in 2000, bringing together Church leaders, political parties, government agents, and civil society representatives to foster support for human rights and promotion of peace.[112] The peace conference, which was endorsed by Pope John Paul II, featured a

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[107] Comerford, "The Angolan Churches,"509-510.

[108] Ibid., 511.

[109] Ibid., 492.

[110] Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 15.

[111] Comerford, "The Angolan Churches,"514.

[112] Ibid., 515; Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 17.

speech by "Bishop Matteo Zuppi of the Rome-based Sant'Egidio community," who played a crucial role mediating the "peace agreement in Mozambique."[113] Credited with breaking the "taboo" of public debate, the central tenant of the conference was that the civil war in Angola did not have a "military solution."[114] While COIEPA in general, and CEAST in particular, continued to advocate for peace, they achieved little success in establishing and maintaining a dialogue between the MPLA and UNITA to bring peace to Angola and basic rights and freedoms to society.

During the 1990s, state and rebel elite began to pursue an affiliation with the Catholic Church in order to bolster their own legitimacy. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos began to court the Catholic Church to legitimize his reign.[115] To promote the public perception of his authority, he had one of his children baptized Catholic and invited Pope John Paul II to say mass in a stadium in Luanda.[116] Dos Santos' move to coopt Church support made it difficult for the Church to gain independent influence on society as it was previously perceived by society to be close to colonial state and now seen engaging the increasingly authoritarian state.[117] The action of the MPLA elite can be read as an opportunistic move to use the Church to penetrate society, but it must also be recognized, that this would not be possible if the Catholic Church had not developed a recognizable level of embeddedness in society. Therefore, this is strong evidence for the Church as an advocate, and for the state as a gatekeeper.

Progressively though the 1990s, Jonas Savimbi and UNITA also sought to use the Catholic Church to give increasing credibility to their cause. In 1991, a UNITA party congress called on continued support from the Catholic Church for upcoming national elections.[118] In 2000 and 2001, UNITA engaged the Church in dialogue, and Pope John

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[113] Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 516.

[114] Ibid.; Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 17.

[115] Birmingham, *Empire in Africa*, 145–146.

[116] Ibid., 147.

[117] Ibid.

[118] W. Martin James, *Historical Dictionary of Angola* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2004) 168.

Paul II urged the state to engage in peace talks with UNITA.[119] However, by this time UNITA's ruthless tactics had significantly discredited their cause locally and internationally.[120] Church attempts to bring peace to a society were unsuccessful, in part because the gap between UNITA and the MPLA was hardened by the generations of war and atrocities. However, the efforts of the rebel elites to leverage the Church also demonstrate the level of moral authority they believed the Church possessed.

Beyond the boundaries of Angola, the Catholic Church was forming into a more vocal and cohesive organization in Africa. Several bishops formed The Inter-Regional Meeting of the Bishops of Southern Africa (IMBISA) in the late 1970s as a direct result of Vatican II.[121] By 1989, IMBISA issued its first declaration on human rights within the region.[122] Another collection of African Catholic clergy, The African Synod of Bishops, issued a similar call for rights in 1994.[123] These regional religious organizations provide further evidence that the Church saw social justice to be an integral part of its mission in the region, and advocated for society in accordance with the boomerang pattern.

Recent papal communications to CEAST and Angolan bishops have failed to criticize the shortcomings of the state to provide social rights and public goods to its citizens. Speaking to President dos Santos and the bishops in 2009, Pope Benedict XVI offered a positive message referring to the regimes efforts to rebuild institutions and

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119James, *Historical Dictionary of Angola*, 170; Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 18.

120Roque, Angola's Façade Democracy, 144; Steve Kibble, "Angola: Hearing the People's Voice," *Development 43*, no. 3 (9, 2000): 95–97, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/216910333?accountid=12702; Assis Malaquis, "Making War and Lots of Money: The Political Economy of Protracted Conflict in Angola," *Review of African Political Economy 28*, no. 90 (2001): 532, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/60639930?accountid=12702.

121The Inter-Regional Meeting of the Bishops of Southern Africa, accessed March 28, 2016, http://imbisa.org.zw/.

122"African Bishops Approve Civil Protest," *National Catholic Reporter 25*, no. 15 (Feb 03, 1989): 8. http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/215355897?accountid=12702.

123Ann Rodgers-Melnick, "Church Seeks Role in Africa," *Pittsburgh Post – Gazette*, October 3, 1994, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/391908106?accountid=12702.

infrastructure.[124] Addressing CEAST in 2011, he stressed overcoming ethnic divisions as an important step in extending human rights.[125] Despite this mention of rights, Pope Benedict XVI did not publicly pressure the state to grant society the rights and freedoms called for in Vatican II. In doing so, he missed an opportunity to further the transnational advocacy the Church had developed over the previous two decades.

The actions of the Catholic Church in Angola which have attempted to foster moral authority and embeddedness in society can be summarized as late to develop, inconsistent, and ineffective in securing peace and social rights for society. After the end of Portuguese rule, the Catholic Church did attempt to advocate for a society that was divided, at least partially, because of the Church's failure to embrace society during the colonial era. Moreover, near the end of the twentieth century, the Catholic Church moved forward with Protestant Churches but did not coordinate consistently enough to unite society, which was represented by various faiths. Finally, despite advocating for peace and social freedoms, individuals within the Church, including some bishops and even the pope, bypassed opportunities to denounce state and rebel elite actions that marginalized society. The Catholic Church does have some level of moral authority in Angola, but not enough overcome the gatekeepers in Angola that have limited the influence of the Church and spread of social rights.

4. Mozambique

While the conditions of Portuguese rule in Mozambique were similar in severity and duration to Angola, the Catholic Church was able to respond somewhat earlier and more successfully compared to Angola. As the bishop of Beira from the 1940s through the 1960s, Sebastiao Soares de Resende was critical of the Church's mistreatment of

[124]Pope Benedict XVI, "Apostolic Journey of the Holy Father Benedict XVI to Cameroon and Angola," (Luanda, March 20, 2009), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2009/march/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20090320_autorita-civili.html.

[125]Pope Benedict XVI, "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Bishops of Angola and Sao Tome e Principe (CEAST) on Their 'Ad Limina' Visit," (Rome, October 29, 2011), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2011/october/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20111029_ad-limina-angola.html.

Africans.[126] De Resende published the first Catholic newspaper in Mozambique, *Diario de Mocambique*¸ which was suspended in 1968 and eventually closed in 1971 due to its anti-Portuguese message.[127] A later bishop of Beira, Jaime Pedro Goncalves was notably pro-poor: following the edict of Vatican II to conduct the mass in the vernacular language, he preached in the language of a local tribe rather than Portuguese.[128] While the colonial manifestation of the Portuguese Church was just as oppressive as it was in Angola, individual bishops resisted this influence and spoke out against the tyranny with greater affect. This social advocacy gave the Catholic Church some moral authority and helped the society accept them as defenders of the national interest.

Those who opposed Portuguese domination were often marginalized. Several priests who spoke out against the Church's tolerance of abuses were accused of sympathizing with the rebel group known as the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO).[129] The missionary group known as the White Fathers, active in Mozambique since 1945, left in protest in 1971 over the local Church hierarchy's acquiescence and the Vatican's silence regarding the treatment of African peoples.[130] While these protests were insufficient to cause the Church to abandon their alignment with the Portuguese state, the protests did help establish moral authority that would later bear fruit.

After Mozambique achieved independence and FRELIMO gained access to the reigns of the state, a new dynamic emerged between the Church and state in Mozambique. Upon the 1974 investiture of the transitional government, President Samora Machel said "to decolonize the state means essentially to dismantle . . . systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to impose foreign

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[126]Thomas H. Henriksen, *Mozambique: A History* (London: Collings, 1978), 133; Serapião, "The Preaching of Portuguese Colonialism," 35.

[127]Mario Joaquim Azevedo, *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 51.

[128]Ibid., 72.

[129]Henriksen, *Mozambique: A History*, 213–217.

[130]Ibid., 213; Serapião, "The Preaching of Portuguese Colonialism," 37–38.

domination."[131] The Catholic Church and its patronage certainly fit the description of the systems which Machel sought to dismantle.

FRELIMO used the oppressive legacy of the Catholic Church as a rallying point for support. Reminding Mozambicans of the colonial regime and the use of the Church to justify their actions, FRELIMO villainized the Church and categorized it as against the national identity. However, foreseeing the inevitable fall of the Portuguese empire, a group of Catholic priests met in August of 1974 and consciously plotted how to transform the Church to an institution that represented the local populace. Their vision became a reality as a new generation of priests and bishops, native to Mozambique rather than Portugal, changed the face of the local Church hierarchy. Further, the new Mozambican Catholic Church, intent to avoid the mistakes of the past, took a stand to be independent of state influence, speak out against those who violate human rights, and guard the welfare of society.[132]

As the FRELIMO transitioned from a liberation movement to a governing body they adopted a Marxist ideology opposed to religion.[133] However, due to FRELIMO's affinity to China, overt Soviet influence was absent, which left some philosophical latitude with regard to religion.[134] Within this space, the Catholic Church began to make amends with the state in the late 1980s.[135] Despite the long history of Portuguese rule and communist influence against religion, the Catholic Church resurfaced in Mozambique with credibility.

The Catholic Church in Mozambique, like the Catholic Church in Angola, stood apart from Protestant churches because it did not affiliate itself with a political party. The

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131Henriksen, *Mozambique: A History*, 258.

132Luís Benjamim Serapião, "The Catholic Church and Conflict Resolution in Mozambique's Post-Colonial Conflict, 1977–1992," *Journal of Church and State 46*, no. 2 (4, 2004): 374–375, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/58854355?accountid=12702.

133Azevedo, *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*, 30; Adrian Hastings, "The Christian Churches and Liberation Movements in Southern Africa," *African Affairs 80*, no. 320 (July 1, 1981): 348, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1300337359?accountid=12702.

134Hastings, "Churches and Liberation Movements," 350.

135Azevedo, *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*, 30; David Crary, "Church Leaders Now Satisfied After Years of Difficulty in Mozambique," *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1988. http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/292690022?accountid=12702.

Mozambique Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), which represented the Protestant community aligned with FRELIMO during the civil war, assigned blame to National Resistance Movement (RENAMO) alone for the impact war had on society.[136] Conversely, the Catholic Church blamed both RENAMO and FRELIMO for "atrocities against innocent civilian[s]."[137] By refusing to take sides and witnessing the same struggle as society, the Catholic Church remained objective and credible in the eyes of the population. Speaking out against state violence was a significant step in becoming embedded in society and developing moral authority in Mozambique.

The Catholic Church in Mozambique was outspoken in defense of society. Whereas the CCM did not regularly circulate letters on the civil war, the Catholic Church issued no fewer than twenty letters dedicated to social issues during the civil war.[138] As the war in Mozambique intensified in the 1980s, the CCM adopted the view of the Catholic Church which resulted in an ecumenical call for peace talks between FRELIMO and RENAMO.[139] Just as COIEPA broke the taboo of public debate in Angola, the Catholic Church opened conversation in Mozambique by defying the proclamation that banned the use of the name RENAMO for the opposition force.[140] By acknowledging that the civil war was a two-sided conflict, with violence being propagated by the both the rebels and the state, the Church opposed the state narrative which blamed the rebels as the sole cause of civilian suffering. After Mozambique achieved independence, the Catholic Church consistently took advantage of opportunities to advocate for society in Mozambique in keeping with the boomerang pattern.

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136 Serapião, "Church and Conflict Resolution," 368–369.

137 Ibid., 370.

138 Ibid., 369.

139 Ibid., 371.

140 Ibid., 381.

Sponsored by Rhodesia and South Africa, RENAMO led a 17-year insurgency in Mozambique, which ended in 1992.[141] After a visiting the rebel stronghold in Gorongosa, Archbishop Goncalves realized that the neither side could achieve complete military victory and sought the help of the Community of Sant'Egidio, a Catholic organization, to mediate an end to the civil war.[142] Over the course of three years (1989-1992), the Community of Sant'Egidio was able to persuade RENAMO to come to the table and convince the FRELIMO led government that the negotiations did not confer undue legitimacy to the rebels.[143] The resultant Rome Peace Accords recognized RENAMO as a political party rather than as a rebel group and set up elections in 1994.[144] Unlike attempted negotiations in Angola, the Catholic Church was able to draw upon moral authority to further national unity in Mozambique and further the freedom and rights of society under a democratic government.

Later communications between the Holy See and Mozambique have reflected the Church's mission and acknowledge the Church's immediate challenges. Upon receiving a new ambassador from Mozambique in 2006, the pope exhorted the Church in Mozambique to continue to strive for human dignity and continue to develop educational and social ministries.[145] In 2007, Benedict XVI noted the shortage of priests as a hurdle to serving the local community.[146] These comments from the pope underscore a persistent attempt on the part of the Church to continue to become more embedded in society.

141Steven R. Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability," *Perspectives on Politics 10*, no. 4 (2012): 876–877, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592712002861; David Smock, "Divine Intervention: Regional Reconciliation through Faith," *Harvard International Review 25*, no. 4 (2004): 48, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/59866757?accountid=12702.

142Smock, "Divine Intervention," 48; Serapião, "Church and Conflict Resolution," 384.

143Smock, "Divine Intervention," 48; Aaron J. Reibel, "An African Success Story: Civil Society and the 'Mozambican Miracle,'" *Africana 4*, no.1 (June, 2010): 87, Academia, http://www.academia.edu/8076532/Pan_Africanism_and_Southern_Africa_Politics.

144Reibel, Reibel, "African Success Story," 87; Levitsky and Way, "Beyond Patronage," 877.

145Pope Benedict XVI, "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to H.E. Mr. Carlos dos Santos, Ambassador of Mozambique to the Holy See," (Rome, December 14, 2006), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20061214_ambassador-mozambique.html.

146Pope Benedict XVI, "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Bishops of Mozambique on Their 'Ad Limina' Visit," (Rome, May 26, 2007), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2007/may/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20070526_ad-limina-mozambico.html.

B. CONCLUSION

The societies of Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil have each had a distinct history with the Church despite their common Portuguese origin. Unique circumstances in these countries have shaped differing perceptions and measures of moral authority in each society. Patronage within the Portuguese empire created a hurdle for the Catholic Church to overcome in its efforts to become embedded in each of these societies. Brazilian independence appears to be the first major event that caused a deviation in Catholic influence between these societies. Through an earlier dawn of independence, Brazil escaped from Portuguese patronage, enabling the Catholic Church more unfettered influence in Brazil than in Angola and Mozambique. Conversely, the Church was able to advocate for society vis-à-vis authoritarian regimes in Brazil based on the moral authority it had developed over time. This iterative process helped strengthen the bond between Church and society.

The signing of the missionary Concordat of Portugal in 1940 constitutes a second substantial event which contributed to the variation between the remaining Portuguese colonies and Brazil. This document not only affirmed the unity of Church and state, but it favored the empire over the colony. Moreover, it reinforced the subjugation of Africans through the veil of missionary education. Indeed, the Catholic Church can be viewed as a tool of foreign power prior to the fall of the Portuguese empire. However, clergy opposed to colonial domination were able to salvage some credibility in Mozambique. The credibility that the Church built in Mozambique through indigenous clergy and advocating on behalf of the marginalized population manifested itself in increased rights and freedoms for society after the end of the civil war in 1992. The Catholic Church's role in mediating the end of the war demonstrates both its acceptance and its moral authority in Mozambique. Conversely, in Angola, the Church's multiple efforts to advocate for society show an increasing level effort and moral authority, but an inability to secure rights and freedoms for society.

Through the evidence presented, one can see that the Church is more embedded in Brazil than Angola and Mozambique. However, the Catholic Church was still active Angola and Mozambique, which indicates that society has not rejected it writ large.

Moreover, while the Church developed some level of moral authority in both Angola and Mozambique, it was successful in advocating for rights and freedoms of society in one country, but not the other. This chapter has uncovered why there is variation in the moral authority of the Catholic Church between Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil. However, it has not sufficiently answered why these levels of moral authority have produced different outcomes vis-à-vis the success of the Catholic Church in advocating for social rights and freedoms. Given this information, the following chapter evaluates the countervailing forces which mitigate the influence of the Church to determine what other factors limited the capacity of the Church to promote social change.

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III. STATE ACTION AND GATEKEEPING

Every country, including the former colonies of the Portuguese Empire, has unique political circumstances that potentially impede the impact of the Church. In this context, the cases of Angola and Mozambique offer a valuable comparison, and will be the focus of this chapter. Brazil, having achieved independence earlier and having a society which integrated the former colonizers and subjects to a greater degree than African colonies,[147] will be excluded from this analysis. Angola and Mozambique are both large African states that were ruled by Marxist regimes following independence and suffered civil war between state forces and externally supported rebels. The economic and political conditions between the two states have been significantly different. This chapter analyzes how these economic and geopolitical factors contributed to resistance or acceptance of Church influence. I argue that the civil war and economic resources in Angola have inhibited the Church's capacity to influence society by providing a means for state and rebel elite to act as gatekeepers while the relative lack of available resources in Mozambique hindered the ability of the state to exclude Church influence.

I hypothesize that competition for power between state elites and rebels in Angola, fueled by oil and diamond revenues, preempted the Church's diffusion of Vatican II reforms because resource extraction supplanted popular legitimacy as the goal both the MPLA and UNITA. The effects of political leader's prioritization of profit over provision of public goods, both in times of active fighting and in times of relative peace, undermined the Catholic Church's advocacy for society. Conversely, the Mozambican civil war was fought for a purely political prize, devoid of resource-driven economic spoils. The lack of mineral wealth reduced the incentive to resist power sharing and increased the dependence of the state on other influences, such as neighboring states, the international community, and the Catholic Church. This explains why Angolan society was isolated by sovereign state gatekeepers in pursuit of power, as well as aspiring rebel

[147] Michael Cahen, "Is "Portuguese-Speaking" Africa Comparable to "Latin" America? Voyaging in the Midst of Colonialities of Power," *History in Africa 40,* (2013): 25–27, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1468913195?accountid=12702.

gatekeepers, while the rebels and state elite in Mozambique counteracted each other's capacity to resist transnational influence.

Traditional views of the gatekeeper have focused on the agency of the state as the actor most responsible for establishing barriers between society and transnational advocacy groups or international norms. However, given the recent history of civil war and reconstruction in both Angola and Mozambique, UNITA and RENAMO, the opposition groups during the time period of interest, must also be evaluated as gatekeepers in an attempt to understand the access society has to the international world. James Cockayne has noted that war and reconstruction often yield "criminal peace" in which non-state actors leave the state in place to govern the "upperworld" while they plunder the "underworld."[148] Conflict aids organizations like UNITA and RENAMO by eliminating potentially legitimate economic rivals, providing access to violent means of coercion, and facilitating the construction of coherent organizations required for strategic political and economic operations.[149] UNITA successfully operated in this manner prior to the death of Savimbi under a "warlord strategy" in which they operated in "relative autonomy" within the borders of the state, but beyond the reach of its power.[150] RENAMO operated under a different strategy. Rather than coexist within the state, they attempted to combat the state using a "terrorism strategy" in order to force the "state to accommodate their policy preferences."[151] I contend that the presence of UNITA and RENAMO played a critical role in the marginalization of society in Angola and Mozambique by limiting access to external aid, including Church influence. However, the differences between the two rebel groups, and the resources available to them, are equally important when identifying how the Catholic Church has been able to support and influence society.

148James Cockayne, "Chasing Shadows: Strategic Responses to Organised Crime in Conflict-Affected Situations," *RUSI Journal 158*, no. 2 (April, 2013): 10, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1362282303?accountid=12702.

149Ibid., 12–14.

150Ibid., 14–15.

151Ibid., 15.

To illustrate the effect that the state, rebel groups, and resources have played on society in Angola and Mozambique this chapter will be divided into three main sections. The first section describes the background to each of the civil wars and their impact on society. The second section evaluates the impact resources had on each of the civil wars. The final section analyzes the involvement of the Catholic Church in the respective peace processes. This chapter aims to demonstrate that the Church is limited in its ability to produce rights and freedoms for society when gatekeepers have sufficient interest and ability to resist pressure from civil society and external actors. In other words, a gatekeeper can be strong enough to hold transnational advocacy groups and society at bay when resource rents provide a sustainable and lucrative alternative. Furthermore, non-state actors may be considered viable gatekeepers when they possess the ability to disrupt material or ideological support for society either in regions beyond the control of the state or in competition with the state.

A. BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT

The MPLA and FRELIMO, the ruling parties in Angola and in Mozambique since independence respectively, bear a superficial resemblance to each other. However, the differences between the two parties reveal that in Angola, the state was a product of the liberation conflict, while in Mozambique the civil war was a response to the repression by the post-colonial state. The primary rebel groups in Angola and Mozambique also appear similar. UNITA and RENAMO both struggled through a military insurgency against their Marxist state with some level of foreign backing. However, the presence and characteristics of resources in Angola and Mozambique provided different incentive structures for the rebel movements. In both states, there was a massive exodus of Portuguese skilled labor at the time of independence causing a vacuum of both administrative and economic capacity.[152] However, the seduction of state and resource control present in Angola was not present in Mozambique because Angola had a more developed extractive sector than Mozambique. Consequently, the availability of

152Jourdan, "The Minerals Industry of Mozambique," 1; Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola," *The Journal of Modern African Studies 49*, no. 2 (6, 2011): 289, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X1100005X.

resources and transmission of state authority at the end of the Portuguese empire combined to shape the relationship between society and state differently in the two countries.

In Angola, independence came with a cost. Rather than transferring authority, Portugal abdicated power. No heir was designated to head the new state. This vacuum invited a contest among the established liberation movements which erupted into a civil war. The MPLA had gained control of Luanda, the capital of Angola soon after independence and declared the dawn of the new state; almost immediately, UNITA and their allies produced counter claim of sovereignty as a competing state.[153] After the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognized the MPLA claim to statehood in 1976, international legitimacy matched the de facto control of the MPLA in the capital.[154] Regional and international powers also attempted to influence Angola as the newly formed country became a battleground in not only the Cold War, but also post-colonial struggle between white minority governments and black majorities in southern Africa. Cuba and the Soviet Union supplied troops and equipment to the MPLA while South Africa backed UNITA.[155] The Catholic Church, along with Protestant churches in Angola, advocated for a democratic resolution to the power struggle between liberation movements as early as 1975.[156] CEAST repeated this sentiment in 1989.[157] Despite these attempts by the Angolan churches, specifically CEAST, to create a democratic peace, no agreement could be reached and sustained to unify the opposing Angolan forces.[158] Unfortunately, the fighting lasted throughout the end of the century.

In Mozambique, independence had a milder side effect. While rival liberation movements positioned themselves for the ensuing departure of the Portuguese,

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153Roque, "Angola's Façade Democracy," 138.

154Ibid.

155Khadiagala, "Negotiating Angola's Independence," 306.

156Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society,"15; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 498.

157Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 497.

158Khadiagala, "Negotiating Angola's Independence," 298–306.

FRELIMO was picked as the successor to the Portuguese government.[159] Unlike the violent competition in Angola, the transition from one government to another in Mozambique discouraged rebel movements from vying for state power. Despite the fact that both the MPLA and FRELIMO were Marxist ideological factions that came to power at the end Portuguese empire, they acquired power in different ways.[160] RENAMO, unlike UNITA, did not become a resistance movement in Mozambique until after the country attained its independence. FRELIMO attempted to consolidate power through an internal purge of the party and eliminating other political parties in Mozambique; RENAMO formed from the leaders of these groups with the help of the Rhodesian government.[161] Unlike UNITA, RENAMO did not have direct roots to the liberation struggle against the Portuguese empire.

The civil war in Angola could have ended in a similar fashion to the conflict in Mozambique, but it did not. The MPLA and UNITA came to the bargaining table in 1991 to restore peace in Angola shortly before FRELIMO and RENAMO met to end the war in Mozambique.[162] However, Angola reverted to war after UNITA rejected the results of the national election in 1992.[163] Conversely, the factions in Mozambique came to terms in 1992, held an election in 1994, and have not seen a return to war since.[164] Just as the resources that were present and available in each state shaped the two conflicts, they also shaped the peace process and resulting governance. Whereas the MPLA sustained its ability to act as a gatekeeper through continued rent extraction, FRELIMO's unilateral

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159Serapião, "Church and Conflict Resolution," 366.

160James D. Sidaway and David Simon, "Geopolitical Transition and State Formation: The Changing Political Geographies of Angola, Mozambique and Namibia," *Journal of Southern African Studies 19*, no. 1 (1993), 10, 15. http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/839284681?accountid=12702.

161Serapião, "Church and Conflict Resolution," 366–368.

162Roque, "Angola's Façade Democracy," 138.

163Ibid., 139.

164Cameron R. Hume, *Ending Mozambique's Civil War: The Role of Mediation and Good Offices* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994), 139, 143; Helena Pérez Niño and Philippe Le Billon, "Foreign Aid, Resource Rents, and State Fragility in Mozambique and Angola," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 656*, no. 1 (2014): 87. http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1629382337?accountid=12702.

gatekeeping capacity waned through the late 1980s, giving rise to the influence of the Catholic Church and other transnational organizations.

B. THE ROLE OF RESOURCES IN CONFLICT AND GATEKEEPING IN ANGOLA

Mineral deposits, specifically oil, have created a lucrative incentive warring factions to compete control of Angola. As Steve Kibble and Alex Vines state, resources have made "Angola . . . *worth* fighting for."[165] The MPLA strategically sought to control the capital of Luanda to bolster its relative leverage against competing movements and commandeer the established oil industry.[166] Oil deposits in Angola are largely located in offshore deposits.[167] The deposits have been easily controlled by the state and beyond the reach of the rebels. In this sense, oil can be considered a "point resource," meaning that it is "concentrated in a certain area."[168] Moreover, oil is also a "proximate resource," meaning that it is "easy to access and control;" and that it is neither "obstructable," nor "lootable," meaning that it is not easily "blocked by opponents" or "conducive to potential looting by rebel groups."[169] In other words, oil was an economic prize, easily protected by the MPLA after they controlled the capital and became the global market's access point to Angolan oil.

The MPLA continuously excluded other actors, such as civil society, transnational advocacy groups, and international organizations, from influencing the termination of the civil war since the early 1990s. Consequently, Angolan society was "caught between a criminal state and a criminal insurgency."[170] After the Bicesse Agreement in 1991 that

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165Steve Kibble and Alex Vines, "Angola: New Hopes for Civil Society?" *Review of African Political Economy 28*, no. 90 (2001): 539, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/60424219?accountid=12702.

166Khadiagala, "Negotiating Angola's Independence," 299, 303.

167Tony Hodges, *Angola: Anatomy of an Oil State* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 151, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/38120766?accountid=12702.

168Matthias Basedau, Context Matters - Rethinking the Resource Curse in Sub-Saharan Africa, Hamburg, German Overseas Institute, 2005, 8, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1698378434?accountid=12702.

169Ibid.

170Malaquis, "Making War and Lots of Money," 533.

lead to the failed election in 1992, and the Lusaka Protocol in 1994, which only provided a shallow and unstable peace until 1998, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos rejected calls from the international community to negotiate a peace settlement with UNITA.[171] Subsequently, more Angolans died between the failed election in 1992 and end of the civil war in 2002, than prior to the election, many of them due to insufficient food provision and basic public services.[172] Political elites, powered by streams of revenue from oil and diamonds reinforced the ethnic cleavages in society rather than share power.

One reason that contributed to the MPLA's resistance to outside influence is that oil is particularly well suited for state dominated extraction and, in the case of Angola, societal exclusion. Just as the MPLA sought to guard oil from UNITA during the civil war, they have sought to protect oil revenue from society as a standard practice after the war. Aiding the government in this goal is the "enclave" quality that offshore oil possesses: economically, geographically, and politically, very few in society have access to oil and it creates very few linkages whereby other Angolans become stakeholders in the petroleum industry.[173] Further, Angola founded the state oil company, Sonangol, in 1976 and gave it a monopoly over the oil reserves in 1978.[174] Sonangol, headed by dos Santos' daughter, operates autonomously from government oversight and is not held accountable for its budget, creating a "black hole" for revenues in its dealings with the central bank and treasury.[175] The personal, rather than bureaucratic, relationship between state owned oil and government finance is a secret held so tightly that neither society nor parliament are not allowed to know what the revenue and expenditures amount to.[176] Moreover, the World Bank reported in 1993 that the lax policies in Angola not only allow for corruption, but "have encouraged misuse of the proceeds from non-renewable

171Kibble, "Hearing the People's Voice," 95, 96.

172Philippe Le Billon, "Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds, 1975–2000," *African Affairs 100*, no. 398 (1, 2001): 59, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/60555382?accountid=12702.

173Hodges, *Anatomy of an Oil State*, 151.

174Ibid., 143.

175Ibid., 142.

176Ibid., 167.

resources . . . for non-developmental activities.[177] Oil revenues have provided support for the gatekeeping capacity of the state against advocacy groups and society.

Angola functions as a neopatrimonial rentier state, where oil revenues are limited to a narrow group of MPLA supporting elites at the expense of the majority of society.[178] This indicates that the low level of subsistence and freedom given to society is not a failure; rather it is the intentional product of the self-serving interest of the state elite. Oil revenues relieve the state of dependence upon society for revenue, which is then dispersed within a personal network rather than through programmatic investment. Termed "illiberal peacebuilding," this "process of postwar reconstruction managed by local elites in defiance of liberal precepts regarding civil liberties, the rule of law, the expansion of economic freedoms, and poverty alleviation, with a view to constructing a hegemonic order and elite stranglehold over the political economy" is enabled by, and designed to benefit from, the elite control of oil reserves.[179] The regime allows external intervention, but only if it supports the "status quo" and does not interfere with the "internal authority" of the MPLA.[180] The state's efforts to act in this capacity have been so effective that they have successfully inhibited foreign leaders such as U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Pope Benedict XVI from confronting obvious issues such as lack of democratic practice and human rights abuses while visiting Angola in the late 2000s.[181] President dos Santos and the MPLA elite effectively perform the role of the gatekeeper by deliberately keeping transnational and international advocates on the sidelines as well as limiting society's access to oil revenues.

Just as offshore oil stuffed the coffers of the MPLA, alluvial diamonds fed UNITA's war effort in Angola. UNITA was the most prominent and durable liberation movement that competed with the MPLA. UNITA's origins began prior to independence

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[177]Hodges, *Anatomy of an Oil State*, 159.

[178]Carlos Pestana Barros, The Resource Curse and Rent-Seeking in Angola," Lisbon School of Economics and Management, 2012, 11, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1698011035?accountid=12702.

[179]de Oliveira, "Illiberal Peacebuilding," 288.

[180]Ibid., 289–295.

[181]Ibid., 302.

and continued military resistance until 2002.[182] Whereas UNITA may have once been considered an ideological resistance to Portuguese and MPLA domination, the rebels have since been characterized by pure greed. After losing the 1992 election, UNITA reverted to war in an effort to lay waste to the countryside and make the country "ungovernable" as a means to "plundering the country's resources."[183] UNITA's strategy capitalized on the "diffuse" nature of alluvial diamonds, meaning that they are "spread across the terrain of the country."[184] Furthermore, the fact that in Angola diamonds are "distant" from the capital or power base of the state, made it difficult for the state to "access or control" this resource.[185] The availability of diamonds prevented the state from easily stopping UNITA's profitable smuggling operations.[186] Finally, the small stones are "lootable," and provide significant value in small commodities, making them portable and concealable.[187] These are the exact characteristics that a rebel movement can exploit to fund its own operation.[188] However, the lootable nature of the diamonds also required increased centralization of the resource and UNITA frequently dislodged and displaced populations or forced them to work in the mines to harvest the stones under a watchful and unforgiving eye.[189] Consequently, while diamonds were good for UNITA, they brought suffering, rather than economic freedom to society.

The continual harvest of diamonds allowed UNITA to sustain the war effort after the goal of state capture had proven to be unrealistic. While they may have genuinely started as a liberation movement denied power by the MPLA, the diamonds available to UNITA provided an incentive to continue belligerent action rather than function as a

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[182]Roque, "Angola's Façade Democracy," 139.

[183]Malaquis, "Making War and Lots of Money," 523.

[184]Basedau, "Context Matters," 8.

[185]Ibid.

[186]Philippe Le Billon, *Fueling War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 30.

[187]Basedau, "Context Matters," 8.

[188]Le Billon, *Fuelling War*, 180.

[189]David Simon, "The Bitter Harvest of War: Continuing Social & Humanitarian Dislocation in Angola," *Review of African Political Economy 28*, no. 90 (12, 2001): 505–509, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/60415205?accountid=12702; Hodges, *Anatomy of an Oil State*, 176, 181, 198.

political party in a pluralistic state. Significant external political and economic action, combined with MPLA military advantages were not enough to convince UNITA to abandon war until the death of Savimbi.

Whereas oil created a sanctuary for the MPLA, diamonds incentivized a campaign of destruction for UNITA. Underlying this discussion is the motivation for war in Angola: resources rather than people. State capture for the MPLA was not a means of liberation after the Portuguese left, but a quest for oil wealth. Similarly, UNITA sought diamonds rather than popular support. Oil created a strong economic impetus for the MPLA to protect, but also a "weak state structure" and a "sparse network" with very little in incentive serve or unite the populace.[190] Conversely, diamonds increased the "feasibility" of sustaining the UNITA rebellion, even after state capture had proved unrealistic.[191] The Catholic Church, without any leverage to restrain the MPLA and UNITA from using resource wealth to purchase arms, was only able to suggest peaceful alternatives.

Unfortunately for society, diamond mining directly affected the population under its de facto control, unlike the enclave oil industry. The manifestation of this presence was that of a warlord, where UNITA preyed on the inhabitants of territory possessing diamonds, beyond the protection of the state.[192] UNITA and MPLA were enhanced in their gatekeeper roles because they held power at negotiating table during the peace talks and held weapons in the time of conflict. Society was marginalized not only by the war, but also by the shape of the peace between conflicts.

The decline of UNITA coincided with their limited access to diamond revenues. Buyers and regional actors, such as Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire, were complicit in smuggling operations either for profit or as a means to gain a comparative advantage in power over other state and non-state actors in the region.[193] Until credible

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[190]Macartan Humphreys, "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution 49*, no. 4 (8, 2005): 511, 513, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/224561393?accountid=12702.

[191]Ibid., 512.

[192]Le Billon, *Fuelling War*, 36.

[193]Hodges, *Anatomy of an Oil State*, 181–182.

countermeasures were installed in 1993, and subsequently enforced around 1998, UNITA was able to use diamonds as both a resource for wealth and as a currency with which it could buy arms from such actors.[194] Increased UN sanctions against UNITA, depletion of existing sources, and increased government control over diamond rich areas through "scorched earth" campaigns near the end of the 1990s and early 2000s limited the resources of the rebels.[195] Further, economic measures imposed by De Beers increased the risk and limited the market for smuggled diamonds.[196] The constricted availability of resources and shrinking market in which to exchange diamonds for arms marginalized UNITA, but the incentive to continue fighting for Savimbi was stronger than the alternative of submitting to MPLA rule. Certainly, the MPLA's brutal final campaign to deny UNITA diamonds and refuge weakened the rebel's capacity to resist. However, when finally defeated, UNITA had not weakened the state's hegemonic power over society. With its oppressive regime and oil resources intact, the MPLA was to remain unhindered by the Catholic Church or any other social advocate.

While resources were a major motivation for war, the Catholic Church claimed that oil and diamonds were not the underlying cause of the war. Throughout the 1990s, CEAST described the cleavages between ethnic groups that had been manipulated "to reap political dividends" by both the rebels and state elite as the root cause of the conflict.[197] In 1999, the Church assessed that the role of resources was an avenue for political elites, and foreign companies engaged in purchasing these resources, to "turn war into a lucrative business."[198] Therefore, the Church claimed that the war was not driven by desire for resources; rather, it was driven by political division and fueled by resources. Oil and diamonds sustained the gatekeepers in their efforts to marginalize society.

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194 Hodges, *Anatomy of an Oil State*, 180–181.

195 Ibid., 170,184; Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 18.

196 Hodges, *Anatomy of an Oil State*, 178, 184.

197 Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 506–507, 511–512.

198 Ibid., 51.

C. THE ROLE OF RESOURCES IN CONFLICT AND GATEKEEPING IN MOZAMBIQUE

The mineral and resource sector in Mozambique was largely undeveloped and unknown at the time of independence.[199] Starting with little infrastructure, the state controlled economy attempted to develop a skilled labor force, establish a viable mining sector, and effectively survey the national resources.[200] Mozambique subsequently discovered quantities of minerals ranging from coal to gold, lead, lithium, and hydrocarbons.[201] However, RENAMO was able to disrupt the expansion of the immature mining sector from a very early stage.[202] Unfortunately, this tactic took a heavy toll on society, as the World Bank estimated in 1988 that Mozambique was the poorest country in the world.[203] Mozambique's resources were both "diffuse" and "distant," creating a scenario where "obstruction" of resources was a tool that RENAMO successfully employed to take advantage of.

Compared to the MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO had very few resources available because RENAMO was able to tailor a strategy to effectively exploit the situation. Whereas UNITA's strategy focused on accumulation of diamond resources, RENAMO waged civil war through a strategy of denial. While the plentiful resources fueled conflict in Angola, "grievance" spurred the rebellion in Mozambique in which resource disruption ensured a stalemate or "military balance."[204] Therefore, the role of resource extraction contributed to the ability of both the state and rebels in Angola, but resource denial was significant to the war in Mozambique. The MPLA, both during and after the war, retained a "greater degree of autonomy and maneuverability" over their policies than FRELIMO due to resource revenues.[205] The same can be said of UNITA compared to RENAMO. While the Catholic Church was unable to usher peace into Angola, a side effect of the

199 Jourdan, "The Minerals Industry of Mozambique," 5.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid., 5, 6.

202 Ibid., 2, 8–15.

203 Ibid., 2.

204 Humphreys, "Uncovering the Mechanisms," 511–512, 514.

205 Niño and Le Billon, "Fragility in Mozambique and Angola," 84.

limited means of both parties in Mozambique was a reliance on the Church and other external actors for support.

D. THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE PEACE PROCESS IN ANGOLA

Early Church attempts to promote social rights were met with resistance. Prior to independence, traces of lay and ordained resistance to state domination can be seen in Angola. Three progressive priests, Jorge Sanches, A.F. Santos Neves, and Waldo Garcia, deported from Angola for their resistance to the state. Holy Ghost missionaries also signed a petition protesting the Portuguese colonial system. Pope Paul VI even met with a leader of the MPLA in 1971, over the protest of the Portuguese government.[206] After the MPLA had taken the reigns of the independent state, they too acted as a gatekeeper and resisted the influence of the Catholic Church.

The Gbadolite Accords in 1989 were the first of many attempted and failed peace agreements aimed at ending civil war. In spite of this botched agreement, the Catholic Church maintained that "the path to peace and national reconciliation involved democratic reform," in Angola.[207] This agreement reified divisions between the MPLA and UNITA, and established that criticism from the Church was unwelcome by the government.[208] The MPLA claimed that CEAST's espousal of a democratic solution favored the UNITA rebels rather than the incumbent single party state.[209] The Marxist MPLA, which required all its members to renounce their faith or their party affiliation, not only criticized CEAST for its democratic stance, but also used its sovereign power to deny, limit, and delay Catholic missionaries' entry to the country as retaliation for its opposition.[210] Both preemptively and reactively, the MPLA acted as a gatekeeper to limit the influence of the Catholic Church and other religious organizations.

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[206]Lawrence W. Henderson, *Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979), 218–219, 220.

[207]Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 497.

[208]Ibid.

[209]Ibid.

[210]Ibid.," 496–497.

The Catholic Church had a conflict of interest supporting UNITA as an opposition party, but also condemning its atrocious actions against the population. Further, the MPLA frequently interpreted any call for dialogue or support of the democratic process the Church espoused as collaboration with UNITA.[211] Evidence of the state's intolerance at the Church's democratic efforts include limiting visas for Catholic missionaries in 1989 and shutting down the Catholic radio station, *Radio Ecclesia*, in 1999 for airing an interview with Jonas Savimbi, and again in 2001 for subversion.[212] Throughout the civil war, the Church could speak out, which it frequently did, but could not bring both sides to agree to, and honor a peace deal.

The democratic and pluralistic government that may have been possible if both the MPLA and UNITA had accepted the results of the 1992 election was less promising by the end of the century. Rather than seeking a peaceful, or at least discriminant, response to UNITA's rejection of the election results, the MPLA distributed arms to party thugs in urban areas, leading to the massacre of many UNITA political supporters. Contributing to the decline of the peace process was a potentially fatal flaw in the negotiations: society was excluded from the peace talks in 1991 because only belligerent factions were given a voice.[213] After the failure of the 1994 Lusaka Accords, dos Santos was not inclined to accept negotiations with Savimbi. UNITA, having pillaged the countryside for profit, lost credibility among the population and international supporters.[214]

As the conflict continued, the Catholic Church continued to be rebuffed by the MPLA. When CEAST joined forces with protestant organizations in Angola to form COIEPA, they met resistance from the MPLA, who sought to discredit UNITA and refused to accept further negotiation with the rebels as a viable course of action.[215] Further, when CEAST sponsored the *Movement For Peace* in 2000, the state rejected this

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[211]Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 497, 515.

[212]Ibid., 497; James, *Historical Dictionary of Angola*, 137.

[213]Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 500.

[214]Le Billon, *Fuelling War*, 47; Malaquis, "Making War and Lots of Money," 532.

[215]Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 514.

movement as a hindrance to its "peace through war" strategy that was gaining support from international actors.[216] The Church's attempt to bridge the gap between the two movements was an unacceptable way forward for the MPLA. After the turn of the century, the state was bolstered in its capacity as a gatekeeper with international support aiding its ability to spurn the advocacy of the Church and voice of society.

Throughout the civil war, the Catholic Church and other church organizations specifically offered mediation on multiple occasions in Angola. CEAST offered mediation in 1986, but did not receive a response. In 2000, COIEPA offered mediation, which was rejected by the state. Finally, after Savimbi wrote a letter to CEAST in 2001, expressing gratitude for their services, Catholic bishops from the entire South African region issued a joint response offering mediation directly between dos Santos and Savimbi, which was never accepted. While a meeting between the two leaders was more promising than continued warfare, CEAST stated later in 2001 that any meeting between the elite would be incomplete unless it included "representatives from other political parties and civil society.[217]

E. THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE PEACE PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Prior to independence, the Church hierarchy in Mozambique was still supportive of the unjust colonial system. Bishop Teodosio Clemente de Gouveia helped author the concordat of 1940 to support Portuguese patronage of the Church in the colonies.[218] Gouveia believed his work was for the "glory of God and Portugal," leaving African subjects as a lower priority.[219] Archbishop Alvim Pereira of Lourenco Marques diocese delivered a speech in 1961 telling locals that "it is acting against nature to want independence and to take part in movements for it."[220] Accusing FRELIMO of being a

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[216]Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 515; Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 17.

[217]Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, "Civil Society," 17; Comerford, "The Angolan Churches," 517.

[218]Azevedo, *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*, 73.

[219]Serapião, "The Preaching of Portuguese Colonialism," 35.

[220]Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire* (London: Zed Books, 1984), 37.

terrorist organization, Pereira supported the fascist regime in Portugal and preached subordination to the locals as a matter of religious duty.[221] The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, with notable exceptions, was a pillar of Portuguese control over Mozambique and therefore exhibited the characteristics more representative of a gatekeeper than an advocate.

When FRELIMO took control of the state, they reacted to the advocacy and objections of the Mozambican Catholic Church in a similar way to the MPLA in Angola. From the FRELIMO perspective, criticism of their organization was tantamount to support for the opposition. The Church was critical of the FRELIMO regime on several fronts, including anti-religious Marxist ideology, education, and atrocities committed against civilians.[222] Not only was the Mozambican Catholic Church critical of the FRELIMO regime when needed, but the Church was also able "to work together" with the state on social issues when the door opened for cooperation in the late 1980s, despite FRELIMO's insistence that the Church's call for dialogue was "profoundly unpatriotic."[223] Common ground proved to be important for the Church in Mozambique, as well as criticism.

Despite the fact that Mozambique had been poor and underdeveloped, it had untapped resources which could be harvested if the war ended. Based on the dialogue between the mediators and the two sides during the peace talks, it does not appear that a share of the mineral wealth was a significant aim of RENAMO, as mining rights were not mentioned in the first hand description of the peace process written by Cameron Hume. RENAMO relied on its military action alone to provide leverage in negotiation in order to open up the one-party state and facilitate power sharing through representative government and an apolitical security force.[224] RENAMO therefore wanted to secure political guarantees rather than resource concessions in exchange for agreeing to a cease

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221Hanlon, *Revolution Under Fire*, 37.

222Serapião, "Church and Conflict Resolution," 375.

223Crary, "Church Leaders Now Satisfied," U13.

224Hume, *Ending Mozambique's Civil War*, 71–83.

fire.[225] Consequently, society was more likely to benefit from war termination in Mozambique than in Angola through improved governance due to checks on power and a peace dividend by removing the security threats to potential sources of resource wealth. While society suffered during the civil war in Mozambique, the conflict and subsequent peace deal reduced the capacity of the state to act as a unilateral gatekeeper.

RENAMO could not have been driven by a motivation to capture resources because few, if any, were available in Mozambique prior to the 1990s. Foreign actors, specifically factions in Rhodesia and South Africa, sought to increase their relative political power by undermining the FRELIMO regime.[226] Already beset by poverty, a significant drought-induced famine in 1991 and 1992 affected Mozambique and several surrounding southern African countries.[227] While government and rebel forces were in a stalemate, many of Mozambique's land locked neighbors (as well as Mozambique's own population) were being starved because the war prevented the distribution of food aid.[228] Therefore, while resource wealth was the driving force in the continuation of the war in Angola, poverty and hunger contributed to the cessation of hostilities in Mozambique because regional neighbors, such as Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, pressured the two factions to cooperate with Church mediators to resolve the conflict.[229] While the Catholic Church was not solely responsible for the improvement in rights and freedoms in Mozambique, the two gatekeepers of society in Mozambique, FRELIMO and RENAMO, effectively destroyed each other's capacity to sustain resistance to transnational influence.

FRELIMO has neither lost control of the state since the end of the civil war, nor have they systematically excluded RENAMO from a revenue source.[230] This should not be mistaken for pure benevolence or Catholic social values permeating the regime, but

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[225]Hume, *Ending Mozambique's Civil War*, 71–83.

[226]Ibid., 11; Serapião, "Church and Conflict Resolution," 367–368; Jourdan, "The Minerals Industry of Mozambique," 2.

[227]Hume, *Ending Mozambique's Civil War*, 91–93.

[228]Ibid.

[229]Ibid., 112–114.

[230]Niño and Le Billon, "Fragility in Mozambique and Angola," 88.

should indicate that institutional guarantees demanded by RENAMO at the end of the civil war have benefited society and been reinforced through transnational actors.[231] While the war ended in a negotiated settlement after a military stalemate, RENAMO has failed to democratically overtake FRELIMO's seat of power. Yet, when viewed from the lens of society vis-à-vis the state, RENAMO has established that FRELIMO is not the only stakeholder in Mozambique. Evidence for the rise of civil society can be seen in the economic impact of resources across the economy and transparency in the mineral sector targeted at "sustainable development and poverty reduction."[232] Moreover, Mozambique is following some of the recommendations and best practices promoted by the international community such as developing a model contract for future mineral concession developments.[233] Since the end of the civil war, Mozambique has been seeking to attract foreign direct investment through liberalization rather than simply seeking rents.[234] With the mineral sector becoming more important to the national economy,[235] the inclusion of society stands in stark contrast to the resource governance in Angola.

F. CONCLUSION

By comparing the civil wars and regimes' use of resources in Angola and Mozambique, a stark contrast becomes evident in the relationship between the two states and their respective society. Resource conflict and governance have marginalized society, including the Catholic Church, in Angola while an insurgent war and a paucity of

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[231]Niño and Le Billon, "Fragility in Mozambique and Angola," 88.

[232]Julien Hartley and James Otto, "Managing Mineral Resources: From Curse to Blessing," in *Post-stabilization Economics in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from Mozambique*, ed. Jean A.P. Clement and Shanaka J. Peiris, (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2008), 317, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/56883860?accountid=12702.

[233]M. Schnell, and M. Grobmann, "International Approaches to Improve Resource Governance in Africa," in *Geological Resources and Good Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Holistic Approaches to Transparency and Sustainable Development in the Extractive Sector*, ed. Jurgen Runge and James Shikwati (London: Taylor and Francis, 2011) 45, http://www.crcnetbase.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1201/b11328-1.

[234]Hartley and Otto, "Managing Mineral Resources," 288; Jourdan, "The Minerals Industry of Mozambique," 6.

[235]Jean A.P. Clement, "Introduction and Overview," in *Post-stabilization Economics in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from Mozambique*, ed. Jean A.P. Clement and Shanaka J. Peiris, (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2008), 8, http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/56738980?accountid=12702.

extractive capacity in Mozambique have given society leverage against the state. The Catholic Church has been ineffective at limiting the tyranny of the regime in Angola, but the Church mediated the end of the civil war in Mozambique. While the end of the conflict in Angola has offered little improvement the freedom and welfare of society, power sharing in Mozambique, a byproduct successful war termination, has allowed more space for the Catholic Church and society.

I conclude that the resources available to states and rebels in these conflicts significantly altered the conflict and post war peace because they provided alternatives to a negotiated peace in Angola throughout the 1990s but little incentive to continue fighting in Mozambique. Material gain to facilitate political primacy motivated the MPLA and UNITA in Angola, each one acting as a gatekeeper over a portion of society. Savimbi, operating as a warlord over UNITA held territory, and dos Santos, funneling oil rents into patronage networks, remained sufficiently strong to resist Church influence.

Whereas Angolan society suffered because the state and rebels had sufficient resources and incentive to sustain conflict, Mozambican society suffered during their civil war because neither the state nor the rebels had an asymmetric advantage in resources to subdue the other. While FRELIMO and RENAMO could both deny resources and influence to each other during the war, they could achieve a more beneficial result through peaceful power sharing. Therefore, they had an incentive to end the conflict and were limited in their capacity to act as gatekeepers after the war.

I argue that the civil war and economic resources in Angola have inhibited the Catholic Church's capacity to influence society while the circumstances in Mozambique hindered the ability of the state to exclude Church influence. This brings two significant questions into focus. First, does the moral authority of the Church, as discussed in chapter two, require a catalyst to open the door for social advocacy? More specifically, is moral authority a necessary, but insufficient condition to circumvent a gatekeeper within the boomerang pattern? Second, do resources affect transnational advocacy during post conflict reconstruction? More specifically, is the Catholic Church more apt to facilitate peace out of poverty than out of a society with resources? In Angola, resource exploitation enabled war continuation and wealth concentration, whereas in

Mozambique, war termination enabled resource development social inclusion. The findings of this chapter suggest that resource revenues decouple state *and* non-state actors from society *and* Church influence. This effect may be magnified when both state and rebel elites have access to resources, but less likely when both parties can potentially gain from increased access to resources in a peace deal.

IV. CONCLUSION

A. INTRODUCTION

States, the international political environment, and the Catholic Church have changed over time, altering the path of influence that the Church has on societies. While colonialism has served as a vehicle for the Church to spread its message, it has also given rise to European empires and the relative deprivation of social rights in the parts of the postcolonial world. The Church has had minimal influence in Angola with respect to promoting rights and freedoms for society, which has contributed to the extreme deficiency of social justice in Angolan society, compared to Mozambique and Brazil.

Secular changes driven by political and economic forces have amplified the influence of the Church in some areas and dampened it in others. Brazil serves as an example of Catholic influence transcending boundaries and penetrating society whereas Angola demonstrates little influence of Church influence on its institutions. This thesis investigates the causes of the muted voice of the Catholic Church in Angola by evaluating the development of the Church and interaction of state resistance in Angola compared to Mozambique and Brazil. I find that the most significant factor limiting the influence of the Catholic Church in Angola is the resistance of state and rebel elite, in pursuit of lucrative mineral resources, to societal and external pressure. Whereas the Church was embedded in Brazilian society and gained moral authority in Mozambique, it did not have a firm foundation in Angolan society upon which it could transcend the gatekeeper of the state.

This concluding chapter will summarize the four proposed hypotheses and expound upon their overlapping contributions to the poor state of social rights in Angola compared to Mozambique and Brazil. The following section will analyze what implications these findings have for contemporary societies, throughout and beyond the developing world. Further, this thesis suggests that an alternative view of the "resource curse" may warrant further investigation. Finally, as representative of the U.S.

government studying at the Naval Postgraduate School, I ask what implications this has for the United States in foreign policy and military affairs.

B. HYPOTHESES EVALUATED

This thesis examined four hypotheses that potentially explain the influence of the Catholic Church in Angola compared to Mozambique and Brazil, resulting in different levels of influence over the adoption of social rights and economic freedoms as expressed through the Second Vatican Council. The first hypothesis asserted that the Catholic Church was more thoroughly embedded in Brazilian society than in Angola and Mozambique, and was therefore more effective as an advocacy group within the boomerang pattern. The second hypothesis suggested that because the Catholic Church was an instrument of state control during under Portuguese colonial rule in Africa longer than in Brazil, Angolan and Mozambican societies rejected the Church after independence as a remnant of foreign domination. Third, I hypothesized that since elite competition for power was more intense and long lasting in Angola than Mozambique, the Angolan state and rebel elites acted effectively as gatekeepers, and therefore successfully repelled Church advocacy for social rights. The final hypothesis claimed that the Angolan elite exploited mineral resources to create an oppressive regime, which was unresponsive to social needs or reform, resisting the attempts of the Catholic Church to advocate for society.

Regarding the first hypothesis, my analysis finds that the Catholic Church is deeply embedded in society and has been highly effective as a transnational advocacy group in Brazil. Despite a history marked by repression, Church efforts in Mozambique have built moral authority and achieved some increase in the rights and freedoms for society there. While the Church has developed some degree of moral authority in Angola during its civil war, it has been unable to use it to achieve social rights, even after the MPLA defeated UNITA in 2002.

The Second hypothesis suggested that society in Angola and Mozambique rejected Church influence since the Catholic Church was used as an instrument of colonial domination. Church patronage during Portuguese colonial rule created conflict

of interest, which allowed the empire to exploit colonial subjects whilst sidelining the Church as a critic. As discussed in Chapter II, the Church recognized this problem, and in 1622 promulgated the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith for future colonies, but remained dependent upon Portugal until its empire crumbled. Further, Catholic missionaries failed to evangelize inclusively to all ethnic groups in its colonies, particularly in Angola. By ignoring local ethnic groups, the Catholic Church failed to create a common national identity, which left rifts in Angolan society after independence.

The third hypothesis evaluated whether or not elite competition for power, which was more intense and long lasting in Angola than Mozambique, enabled the gatekeepers to preempt the spread Catholic social doctrine. Lasting from the 1970s until 2002, the Angolan civil war was longer than the conflict in Mozambique. However, the evidence suggests that the duration of hostilities is the result of another factor rather than the cause of limited influence of the Catholic Church. In other words, the persistence of state and rebel gatekeepers was a symptom of resource exploitation, and not the underlying resistance to the constrained influence of the Church.

The final hypothesis posed that the exploitation of mineral resources by the Angolan allowed them to create an oppressive regime, which was unresponsive to social needs or reform, resisting the attempts of the Catholic Church to advocate for society. I argue that Angolan state and rebel elite have drawn strength from the extraction of oil and diamonds, which contributed to their significant resilience as gatekeepers. The Angolan state, in its iterations as Portuguese colony, civil war belligerent, and postwar illiberal democracy, has been the most influential factor in the scarcity of social rights advocated for by Vatican II. This conclusion does not discount the effect of Portuguese colonial discrimination, nor do I claim that the resource endowment of Angola is deterministic in the relationship between state and society. However, the effects of oil and diamonds have bolstered the gatekeeper role of the elite in war, and have continued to fortify the state since it achieved victory.

Angolan liberation movements, which had been fighting for independence during the later years of Portuguese rule, turned on each other after the end of the colonial regime. This war, fought along ethnic and religious lines, became a contest for control of

the state and resources. Elites from the MPLA and UNITA gained immense wealth from the conflict and had little incentive to lay down their arms when continued combat was a lucrative alternative. Following UNITA's defeat after more than a quarter century of fighting, no domestic or international actor has been able to limit the MPLA's pursuit of wealth, and consequently, their capacity as a gatekeeper.

Mozambique, conversely, did not have mature resource base to exploit. FRELIMO, the heir to Portuguese rule in Mozambique, FRELIMO had many characteristics in common with the MPLA in Angola, but no available enclave resource to expropriate and exploit. Further, FRELIMO had to contend with RENAMO who exasperated the problem through a strategy of terrorism, making governance and development impossible within the territory it controlled. While the belligerent state and rebel forces in Mozambique found themselves in a stalemate, the Catholic Church manufactured an opportunity to mediate peace and improve social rights.

The Catholic Church in Mozambique forged a new identity after the end of the colonial era by seeking a voice independent of the state and representing society. While social advocacy built moral authority, it also created friction between the Church and the state. After years of civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO, the Church was able to establish itself as a neutral party, and credible enough to serve as an unbiased conduit for negotiations. While the moral authority the Church built was necessary for mediation, it was not sufficient.

In order for the Catholic Church to achieve improved social rights, it required an opportunity to gain leverage against the gatekeepers of society. The opportunity presented itself in the form of rebel movement that used child soldiers to pillage, murder, rape, and sabotage portions of society to undermine the government.[236] This inherently destructive rebel movement appears to be a poor vehicle for Church influence. However, RENAMO did reduce the capacity for the state to act as a gatekeeper by proving it was unable to govern its territory. Unlike Angola, where the MPLA was able to continuously

[236]Caroline A Gross, "War-Stopping and Peacemaking in Mozambique." in Stopping Wars and Making Peace: Studies in International Intervention, ed. by W. Michael Reisman and Kristen Eichensehr (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 191. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com.libproxy.nps.edu/lib/ebook-nps/reader.action?docID=489366&ppg=5R.

finance its war against UNITA rebels until it achieved victory, FRELIMO was overcome as a gatekeeper.

Brazil has not endured a civil war and post conflict reconstruction similar to Angola and Mozambique. Therefore, any assessment of the state as a gatekeeper would be within a paradigm of peace rather than war. While the period of interest for this thesis does not lend itself to analysis of peaceful governance, future research may be able to draw a relevant comparison between these three countries in times of peace if Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil continue to develop without conflict.

C. QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The study of the Catholic Church in Angola becomes relevant when these conclusions are applied as potential factors in other conflict-affected states. The first field of study in which this thesis suggests increased scrutiny is on the role of non-state actors in national affairs. International non-state actors, such as the Catholic Church, can influence state and society through transnational advocacy. However, the conditions that inhibit or promote the influence of non-state actors in this role are poorly defined. Specifically, domestic non-state actors, such as rebel groups, receive much attention, but are rarely evaluated as gatekeepers. The capacity of such an actor to act as an additional gatekeeper, as UNITA did, or degrade the state gatekeeper, as RENAMO did, requires additional research and may help explain the resilience some states have to external influence.

Second, the moral authority of Catholic Church, or any religious institution, requires further research to develop a useful operational theory that can be applied to assess when it will be effective. Embeddedness and moral authority of a Church can bear fruit, but this thesis finds that other forces limit its application. In the case of Angola, resource extraction enhanced the state's gatekeeping capacity, making it impervious to Church influence. Therefore, a model to predict when moral authority, and transnational advocacy in general, can overcome barriers to influence would provide a useful tool in the study of transnational norms and human rights in post war reconstruction. Further, if a

state has an embedded religious organization with moral authority, it may preclude or resist the development of a gatekeeper.

If moral authority alone is insufficient to overcome gatekeepers, this study suggests that catalysts to help religious institutions successfully secure improved rights for society need not be aligned with the moral teachings of the church. Atrocities committed by RENAMO certainly do not represent the values advocated by the Catholic Church, but they did force FRELIMO to negotiate. Further, poverty caused by poor state management, rebel disruption, and severe drought contributed to the Church's opportunity to mediate in spite of increasing the level of suffering in society. While disruption of a gatekeeper appears to be a desirable objective for religious institutions, it also poses a potential moral hazard if one were to assume that a strong force countering the state is a good thing, even if it brings increased suffering to society.

Third, the question of how successfully a Church with high moral authority can advocate for society cannot be answered without investigating individual societies. While this thesis focused on the Catholic Church, as a transnational advocacy group, and the state and rebel group, as gatekeepers, the agency of society was beyond the scope of my research. Linking society to rebel groups and representative organizations, such as political parties, could offer a more complete picture of moral authority and advocacy for social rights. To continue this project, one would need to take a more complete look at the factors society encountered when faced with the choice of religious beliefs or confronted with the choice to join a rebel movement. I do not intend to dismiss the active role of society in the boomerang pattern writ large, or the transmission of social values in Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil, however, the study of sacred values and cultural heritage in this context is outside the bounds of this thesis.

D. RESOURCE CURSE REVISITED

Along with the gaps in the literature identified above, this thesis also challenges the common conception of the resource curse. Some scholars commonly simplify the resource curse into a severed social contract between state and society where resource rents replace taxes as the most vital component of state revenue, and ultimately lessens

the incentive for the state to respond to society's demands.[237] I contend that this is too narrow a focus when evaluating the political causes of the resource curse. When the boomerang pattern is applied, the resource rents not only sever the society from the state, but also from the international community. If resource revenues allow the state to isolate society from transnational advocates, society is more likely to suffer from an oppressive state. In other words, the state is not separated from society; the state *separates* society from the international community.

Other scholars argue that structural economic factors surrounding resource extraction, such as poor linkages between sectors, inflation, and declining terms of trade cause contraction as part of the "Dutch Disease."[238] The phenomenon of economic stagnation that correlate exploitation of non-renewable mineral resources does not disprove the political ramifications of an extractive economy. Further, it bolsters the argument that the resource curse is not confined to the relationship between state and society. If economic links between the resource sector and international markets favor the conditions that create an enclave, then transnational actors are inherently relevant to the resource curse. The distinction between commercial interests, which favor extraction, and social or political interests, which may favor advocacy on behalf of society, is the salient point. Theoretically, commercial interests involved in resource exploitation will contribute to the state as a gatekeeper whereas other state or non-state actors may oppose the gatekeeper.

The assertion that the resource curse fundamentally extends beyond state and society to include transnational actors needs to be tested further with a sample size beyond the case studies presented here. To determine any empirical correlation between transnational or international influence and production of nonrenewable resources, one would need to define quantitative measures of influence as well as clearly link advocacy

[237]Larry Diamond and Jack Mosbacher, "Petroleum to the People: Africa's Coming Resource Curse—and how to Avoid it." *Foreign Affairs 92,* no. 5 (9, 2013), http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1466093627?accountid=12702.

[238]Michael L Ross, "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse," *World Politics 51,* no. 2 (1, 1999): 305 http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/59963723?accountid=12702.

groups to these effects. This thesis suggests that levels of effective transnational advocacy will be lower in states where resource revenues fuel state or rebel gatekeepers, as in Angola, thus fulfilling the resource curse. The thesis also contends that gatekeepers will fail to resist transnational influence in countries where extractive rents are unable to sustain the gatekeeper. Mozambique provides an example of transnational actors, including the Catholic Church, United Nations, and neighboring states exerting influence in a state where the gatekeeper was unable to exploit resources due to an undeveloped mining sector and a destructive rebel force.

E. RELEVANCE FOR THE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The influence of the Catholic Church in Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil is relevant to the United States foreign policy and the Department of Defense. To the extent that the U.S. military seeks to promote norms of democracy, social rights, and freedoms throughout the world the analysis in this case study should help illuminate opportunities for successful military partnerships and highlight conditions conducive to the effective use of aid in Africa and across the developing world. More specifically, if the United States can identify states in which potential gatekeepers are undermined by a lack of resources, then they can identify where western institutions may meet less resistance and have greater influence.

States which have sufficient resource bases may have the ability to resist U.S. diplomatic efforts to buttress democratic institutions, advance economic development, and promote peace and security in accordance with the U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa.[239] While this thesis focused on oil and diamonds as the source of revenue that sustained the gatekeepers in Angola, policy makers must also recognize that petroleum and minerals are not the only sources of fuel for gatekeepers. Foreign aid from a patron state is one example of other income sources that may preserve and strengthen a state (or non-state) gatekeeper. Conversely, where the state is either unable to perform the gatekeeper role, or does not resist western influence, U.S. policy makers should recognize

[239]Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State, accessed October 31, 2016, http://www.state.gov/p/af/.

that how they frame this interaction may impact how it is perceived by society. For example, western influence funneled through the state, like the Portuguese empire that supported the Church, may appear to be an imposition rather than an opportunity. However, when western influence appears in the form of a transnational advocacy effort, such as an NGO, it may offer more appeal to society.

The Catholic Church is one of the oldest transnational western institutions with widespread influence in the world today. As the United States advocates for the spread of liberal democratic and economic institutions, foreign policy advisers would be wise to learn from the lessons that Church experiences have provided. While many Americans would not necessarily associate church and state, policy makers should recognize that some societies in the postcolonial world would make that association. In the case of Portuguese colonies, such as Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil, western influence may draw comparisons to imperialism and Church patronage. This association may not have a negative connotation in a place like Brazil where moral authority and embeddedness have proven that the Church represents the interests of society. However, in states such as Angola and Mozambique, western institutions may be unwelcome as they evoke a legacy of repression fought through nationalist and Pan African movements.

As the Department of Defense embarks on its mission in support of U.S. strategic interests, it must recognize that within the boomerang pattern, the state and society of each partner nation may have opposing objectives. This dichotomy presents military policy makers and deployed forces with a difficult dilemma. If underlying goal is a liberal international regime but the partner nation displays illiberal governance, strategic communications and cooperative military engagements must adhere to a nuanced approach aimed at improving ties between the host government and society while not jeopardizing the relationship between states. An aggressive and divisive posture on behalf of the U.S. risks losing the influence that military interaction provides.

In summary, the boomerang pattern is a useful paradigm for both academic inquiries into the relations between state and society. This thesis evaluated the Catholic Church as transnational actor aimed at influencing society in Angola, Mozambique and Brazil in order to promote social rights and freedoms in accordance with the

proclamations of Vatican II. Within this model, the role of the gatekeeper provides a distinctly antagonistic resistance to the interaction between transnational actors and society. This thesis examined state, rebel elite in Angola and Mozambique as gatekeepers, and determined that the MPLA was an effective gatekeeper in Angola because it had access to resource revenue that sustained and its resistance to transnational influence. If the findings of this thesis are indicative of a larger phenomenon, it suggests that a cause of the resource curse is society's isolation from the international community rather than a divorce from the state. This thesis also suggests that any future U.S. political or military engagement should be evaluated within the boomerang pattern to understand the effects and perception of both the partner state and society.

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